

COLLEGE ART JOURNAL

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GERMAN PAINTINGS IN THE NATIONAL GALLERY: OFFICIAL STATEMENT

BY GLADYS E. HAMLIN

APPROXIMATELY 200 masterpieces of painting transported by the United States Army from Germany in December are now in the air-conditioned store rooms of the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. According to a White House release of September 26, 1945, "The reason for bringing these perishable art objects to the United States is that expert personnel is not available within the American Zone to assure their safety. At present these perishable objects are being stored under conditions which would bring about their deterioration. For many of these art objects there are not adequate housing facilities in Germany." The majority of the paintings came from the Kaiser Friedrich Gallery in Berlin. Before the invasion of Berlin the finest of the Gallery's collection was removed to a salt mine at Merkers where it was discovered April 7, 1945 by the American Third Army. The best of these works were packed in 45 wooden cases, transported by train to Le Havre and then by the S.S. *James Parker* to New York. Upon their arrival at the National Gallery they were carefully checked and it was found that nothing had been damaged. At the request of the Secretary of State, the National Gallery through the chairman of its board of trustees, the Honorable Harlan Fiske Stone, Chief Justice of the United States, has agreed to accept these paintings for safe keeping in trust for the German people until conditions in Europe warrant their return. Among them are masterpieces from the hands of Dutch, Flemish, French, German and Italian artists. It is not contemplated that any of these works of art will be exhibited to the public at present.

The following is the complete list of the paintings now stored at the National Gallery, according to their News Release of December 14, 1945:

- Albrecht Altdorfer: *Rest on the Flight into Egypt*
 Albrecht Altdorfer: *Landscape with Satyr Family*
 Albrecht Altdorfer: *Nativity*
 Albrecht Altdorfer: *Christ's Farewell to His Apostles*
 Christoph Amberger: *Cosmographer Sebastian Münster*
 Jacopo Amigioni: *Lady as Diana*
 Fra Angelico: *Last Judgment*
 Austrian Master (ca. 1400): *Christ, Madonna, St. John*
 Austrian Master (ca. 1410): *Crucifixion*
 Hans Baldung Grien: *Altar of Halle*
 Hans Baldung Grien: *Graf von Löwenstein*
 Hans Baldung Grien: *Pietà*
 Hans Baldung Grien: *Pyramus and Thisbe*
 Giovanni Bellini: *The Resurrection*
 Bohemian (ca. 1350): *Glatyer Madonna*
 Hieronymus Bosch: *St. John on Patmos*
 Botticelli: *Giuliano de Medici, and frame*
 Botticelli: *Madonna of the Lilies*
 Botticelli: *St. Sebastian*
 Botticelli: *Simonetta Vespucci*
 Botticelli: *Venus*
 Dirk Bouts: *Madonna and Child*
 Dirk Bouts: *Virgin in Adoration*
 Peter Breughel: *Dutch Proverbs*
 Peter Breughel: *Two Monkeys*
 Angelo Bronzino: *Portrait of a Young Man*
 Angelo Bronzino: *Portrait of a Young Man*
 Angelo Bronzino: *Ugolino Martelli*
 Hans Burgkmair: *Holy Family*
 Giovanni Battista Caracciolo: *Cosmas and Damian*
 Caravaggio: *Cupid as Victor*
 Vittore Carpaccio: *Entombment of Christ*
 Andrea del Castagno: *Assumption of the Virgin*
 Chardin: *The Draughtsman*
 Chardin: *Still Life*
 Petrus Christus: *Portrait of a Girl*
 Petrus Christus: *St. Barbara and a Carthusian Monk*
 Joos van Cleve: *Young Man*
 Cologne Master (ca. 1400): *Life of Christ*
 Cologne Master (ca. 1350): *Madonna Enthroned, Crucifixion*
 Correggio: *Leda and the Swan*
 Francesco Cossa: *Allegory of Autumn*
 Lucas Cranach, the Elder: *Frau Reuss*
 Lucas Cranach, the Elder: *Lucretia*
 Lucas Cranach, the Elder: *Rest on the Flight into Egypt*
 Daumier: *Don Quixote*
 Piero di Cosimo: *Mars, Venus and Cupid*
 Lorenzo di Credi: *Young Girl*
 Albrecht Dürer: *Madonna*
 Albrecht Dürer: *Madonna with the Goldfinch*
 Albrecht Dürer: *Young Woman*
 Albrecht Dürer: *Hieronymus Holzschuher*
 Albrecht Dürer: *Cover for Portrait of Hieronymus Holzschuher*
 Adam Elsheimer: *The Drunkenness of Noah*
 Adam Elsheimer: *Holy Family*
 Adam Elsheimer: *Landscape with the Weeping Magdalene*
 Adam Elsheimer: *St. Christopher*
 Jean Fouquet: *Etienne Chevalier with St. Stephen*
 French (ca. 1400): *Coronation of the Virgin*
 French Master (ca. 1400): *Triptych*
 Geertgen tot Sint Jans: *John the Baptist*
 Geertgen tot Sint Jans: *Madonna*
 Giorgione: *Portrait of a Young Man*
 Giotto: *Death of the Virgin*
 Jan Gossaert: *Baudouin de Bourbon*
 Jan Gossaert: *Christ on the Mount of Olives*
 Francesco Guardi: *The Balloon Ascension*
 Francesco Guardi: *St. Mark's Piazza in Venice*
 Francesco Guardi: *Piazzetta in Venice*
 Frans Hals: *Hille Bobbe*
 Frans Hals: *Nurse and Child*
 Frans Hals: *Portrait of a Young Man*
 Frans Hals: *Portrait of a Young Woman*
 Frans Hals: *Singing Boy*
 Frans Hals: *Tyman Oosdorp*
 Meindert Hobbema: *Landscape*
 Hans Holbein: *George Giese*
 Hans Holbein: *Old Man*
 Hans Holbein: *Portrait of a Man*
 Pieter de Hooch: *The Mother*
 Pieter de Hooch: *Party of Officers and Ladies*
 Willem Kalf: *Still Life*
 Willem Kalf: *Still Life*
 Phillips Koninck: *Dutch Landscape*
 Georges de La Tour: *St. Sebastian*
 Filippino Lippi: *Allegory of Music*
 Fra Filippo Lippi: *Adoration of the Child*
 Pietro Lorenzetti: *St. Humilitas Raises a Nun*
 Pietro Lorenzetti: *Death of St. Humilitas*
 Claude Lorrain: *Italian Coast Scene*
 Lorenzo Lotto: *Christ's Farewell to His Mother*
 Bastiano Mainardi: *Portrait of a Man*
 Manet: *In the Winter Garden*
 Andrea Mantegna: *Cardinal Mezzarota*
 Andrea Mantegna: *Presentation in the Temple*
 Simon Marmion: *Altar of St. Omer (two panels)*
 Simone Martini: *Burial of Christ*
 Masaccio: *Birth Platter*
 Masaccio: *Three Predellae*
 Masaccio: *Four Saints*
 Quinten Massys: *The Magdalene*
 Master of the Darmstadt Passion: *Altar Wings*
 Master of Flémalle: *Crucifixion*
 Master of Flémalle: *Portrait of a Man*
 Master of the Virgo inter Virgines: *Adoration of the Kings*
 Hans Memling: *Madonna Enthroned with Angels*
 Hans Memling: *Madonna Enthroned*
 Hans Memling: *Madonna and Child*
 Lippo Memmi: *Madonna and Child*
 Antonello da Messina: *Portrait of a Man*
 Jan Mostaert: *Portrait of a Man*
 Aelbert Ouwater: *Raising of Lazarus*
 Palma Vecchio: *Portrait of a Man*
 Palma Vecchio: *Young Woman*
 Giovanni Paolo Pannini: *Colosseum*

Giovanni di Paolo: *Christ on the Cross*
 Giovanni di Paolo: *Legend of St. Clara*
 Joachim Patinir: *Rest on the Flight into Egypt*
 Sebastiano del Piombo: *Roman Matron*
 Sebastiano del Piombo: *Knight of the Order of St. James*
 Antonio Pollaiuolo: *David*
 Nicolas Poussin: *St. Matthew*
 Nicolas Poussin: *Amaltea*
 Raphael: *Madonna Diotallevi*
 Raphael: *Madonna Terranova*
 Raphael: *Solly Madonna*
 Rembrandt: *Landscape with Bridge*
 Rembrandt: *John the Baptist*
 Rembrandt: *Joseph and Potiphar's Wife*
 Rembrandt: *Vision of Daniel*
 Rembrandt: *Moses Breaking the Tablets of the Law*
 Rembrandt: *Susanna and the Elders*
 Rembrandt: *Tobias and the Angel*
 Rembrandt: *Minerva*
 Rembrandt: *Rape of Proserpina*
 Rembrandt: *Self Portrait*
 Rembrandt: *Hendrickje Stoffels*
 Rembrandt: *Man with Gold Helmet*
 Rembrandt: *Old Man with Red Hat*
 Rembrandt: *Rabbi*
 Rembrandt: *Saskia*
 Rubens: *Landscape (shipwreck of Aeneas)*
 Rubens: *St. Cecilia*
 Rubens: *Madonna Enthroned with Saints*
 Rubens: *Andromeda*
 Rubens: *Perseus and Andromeda*
 Rubens: *Isabella Brandt*
 Jacob van Ruysdael: *View of Haarlem*
 Andrea Sacchi(?): *Alessandro del Boro*
 Sassetta: *Legend of St. Francis*
 Sassetta: *Mass of St. Francis*
 Martin Schongauer: *Nativity*
 Seghers: *Landscape*
 Luca Signorelli: *Three Saints (altar wing)*
 Luca Signorelli: *Three Saints (altar wing)*
 Luca Signorelli: *Portrait of a Man*
 Francesco Squarcione: *Madonna and Child*
 Jan Steen: *Inn Garden*
 Jan Steen: *The Christening*
 Bernardo Strozzi: *Judith*
 Gerard Terborch: *The Concert*
 Gerard Terborch: *Paternal Advice*

Giovanni Battista Tiepolo: *Carrying of the Cross*
 Giovanni Battista Tiepolo: *St. Agatha*
 Giovanni Battista Tiepolo: *Rinaldo and Armida*
 Tintoretto: *Doge Mocenigo*
 Tintoretto: *Old Man*
 Titian: *Venus with Organ Player*
 Titian: *Self Portrait*
 Titian: *Lavinia*
 Titian: *Portrait of a Young Man*
 Titian: *Child of the Strozzi Family*
 Cosma Tura: *St. Christopher*
 Cosma Tura: *St. Sebastian*
 Adriaen van der Velde: *The Farm*
 Roger Van der Weyden: *Altar with Scenes from the Life of Mary*
 Roger Van der Weyden: *Johannesaltar Altar with Scenes from the Life of John the Baptist*
 Roger Van der Weyden: *Bladelin Altar*
 Roger Van der Weyden: *Portrait of a Woman*
 Roger Van der Weyden: *Charles the Bold*
 Jan Van Eyck: *Crucifixion*
 Jan Van Eyck: *Madonna in the Church*
 Jan Van Eyck: *Giovanni Arnolfini*
 Jan Van Eyck: *Man with a Pink*
 Jan Van Eyck: *Knight of the Golden Fleece*
 Lucas van Leyden: *Chess Players*
 Lucas van Leyden: *Madonna and Child*
 Velasquez: *Countess Olivares*
 Domenico Veneziano: *Adoration of the Kings*
 Domenico Veneziano: *Martyrdom of St. Lucy*
 Domenico Veneziano: *Portrait of a Young Woman*
 Vermeer: *Young Woman with a Pearl Necklace*
 Vermeer: *Man and Woman Drinking Wine*
 Andrea del Verrocchio: *Madonna and Child*
 Andrea del Verrocchio: *Madonna and Child*
 Watteau: *Fête Champêtre*
 Watteau: *French Comedians*
 Watteau: *Italian Comedians*
 Westphalian Master (ca. 1250): *Triptych*
 Konrad Witz: *Crucifixion*
 Konrad Witz: *Allegory of Redemption*

GERMAN PAINTINGS IN THE NATIONAL GALLERY: A PROTEST

BY CHARLES L. KUHN

THE OFFICE of the Monuments, Fine Arts and Archives Section at the headquarters of U.S. Forces, European Theater in Frankfurt a.M. was visited one day last summer by a member of the Reparations Commission. He was somewhat confused as to the functions of that section, for he sought professional counsel regarding a plan to remove the Nazi stadium at Nuremberg for shipment to the United States. When asked why he proposed such a shipment, he seemed puzzled by the obviousness of the question. He replied, "Because it's a damned good stadium."

A somewhat similar point of view may lie behind the removal to the United States of over two hundred paintings, the property of the Prussian State Museums. "They're damned good pictures." In March, 1945, about the time of the Remagen bridge-head, the newly appointed cultural adviser to General Eisenhower succeeded in obtaining an interview with his deputy, Lieutenant General Lucius B. Clay. During the course of their conversation, General Clay revealed his desire to send German owned works of art to the United States. The General could have had but little information regarding the condition of the museum collections in Germany. The only reports from the field that had been received were from the Aachen salient. There were only vague rumors regarding the number of repositories and no knowledge as to the conditions of storage. But the General knew what all the world knew—these repositories contained "damned good pictures."

The cultural adviser expressed his disapproval of the proposal and nothing further was heard of it at the Frankfurt headquarters until after V-E Day, during the Potsdam Conference. Early in August, an unsigned and undated document was received by the Monuments, Fine Arts and Archives Section, having the letterhead of the "Headquarters, U.S. Group Control Council" and the subject, "Art Objects in U.S. Zone." The paper referred to the great number and the value of art objects stored in emergency repositories in the U.S. Zone of occupation and divided the objects into three categories or classes according to ownership. "Class C" was de-

scribed as "works of art placed in the U.S. zone by Germany for safe keeping which are bona fide property of the German nation." Regarding the disposition of this category, the following statement was made, "It is not believed that the U.S. would desire the works of art in Class C to be made available for reparations and to be divided among a number of nations. Even if this is to be done, these works of art should be placed in facilities equipped for proper care. These works of art might well be returned to the U.S. to be inventoried, and cared for by our leading Museums. They could be held in trusteeship for return, many years from now to the German people *if and when the German nation had earned the right to their return*" (the italics are mine). Attached to the document was a note dated July 29, 1945, signed by Clay's chief of staff, which said in part, "General Clay states that this paper has been approved by the President for implementation after the close of the current Big 3 Conference."

General Clay's proposal was written without full knowledge of the situation and contrary to the advice of the Monuments Specialist Officers under his command, some of whom felt that it was little more than a legalistic excuse for illegal seizure. There was a general lack of enthusiasm towards the policy shared even by the War Department. Messers Edwin W. Pauley and W. L. Clayton, U.S. representatives on the Allied Reparations Commission, approved of the general plan but suggested slight changes in a memorandum to General Clay dated July 30. "We feel . . .," they wrote "that no definite statement should be made at this time as to the future disposition of works of art in Class 'C' and that, if removed to the United States, it should be announced that they are being taken there only for care and safekeeping and their eventual disposition will be subject to future decisions."

Influenced, perhaps, by the universal coolness with which his policy was received, General Clay introduced certain modifications. In a cable to the Civil Affairs Division of the War Department dated September 4, the general speaks of holding German objects of art in trust for eventual return to the German people. He omitted the qualifying clause that appeared in his original paper.

The press release issued by the White House on September 26 was written in General Clay's office and was cabled to the Public Relations Office of the War Department over the General's signature on September 15. It is worthy of close examination. It reiterates that the objects of art are to be held in trust for the German people and

states that the "United State Government will retain [the paintings] only as long as necessary to insure their physical safety" It continues, "When the objects of art are definitely established as being bona fide German ownership they will be returned to Germany when conditions there warrant. The reason for bringing these perishable art objects to the United States is that expert personnel is not available within the American Zone to assure their safety. At present these perishable objects are being stored under conditions which would bring about their deterioration. For many of these objects there are not adequate housing facilities in Germany."

Let us review the recent history of the two hundred paintings which were brought to this country, vis-a-vis the press release.

These paintings formed part of a very large group of objects from various Berlin museums which were evacuated from that city as a precaution against war damage. They are from the collections of the Kaiser Friedrich Museum and the Deutsches Museum and no one has ever questioned their "bona fide German ownership." They were well packed in carefully constructed wooden boxes, each plainly labeled, and were stored in a salt mine at Merkers in the care of an official of the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Dr. Otto Rave. They were discovered by U.S. Troops in April and were inspected by two Monuments Specialist Officers, Captain Robert K. Posey and Lieutenant Commander George L. Stout. Both of these officers pronounced the storage conditions in the mine safe and adequate and advised against the removal of the objects. In spite of this advice, they were removed to the Reichsbank at Frankfurt a.M., along with much gold and currency, by the Financial Section of SHAEF. The custodian, Dr. Rave, was left behind at Merkers.

Upon the dissolution of SHAEF, responsibility for the objects was assigned to the Reparations, Deliveries and Restitution Division of the U. S. Group Control Council which, eventually, placed them in the technical custody of the Monuments, Fine Arts and Archives Section of U.S. Forces, European Theater.

In order to house the collections under ideal conditions, the MFA & A Section requisitioned the museum building at Wiesbaden which had suffered but slight war damage. This building was placed in charge of Captain Walter I. Farmer, a Monuments Specialist Officer, a trained architect with museum experience and a man wise in the ways of the army. For two months, Captain Farmer worked night and day preparing the building to receive the objects. The roof was repaired, broken glass was replaced, special shelving

was constructed, accession cards were printed, engineering and janitorial labor was procured, a highly trained German curatorial staff, a restorer, photographer, librarian and secretaries were engaged. Captain Farmer even succeeded in obtaining the two most sought after items in the German theater—sufficient coal to keep the building warm and dry during the impending winter and a guard detail of U.S. troops to police the premises twenty-four hours a day.

From August 10 to August 16, the collections were transported from the bank at Frankfurt to the Wiesbaden museum. The trucks were loaded by a prisoner of war detail supervised by two experienced packers who had been on the staff of the Staedel Institute. While on the road, they were guarded by armored reconnaissance cars and armed jeeps. Upon completion of the move, the objects were stored, *not* "under conditions which would bring about their deterioration" but in a building especially prepared and ideally suited to the purpose. Moreover, they were under the eyes of "expert personnel" especially qualified "to assure their safety."

When the order finally was given to ship the paintings to the United States, the Monuments, Fine Arts and Archives officers courageously issued the following letter:

**"U.S. FORCES, EUROPEAN THEATER
"GERMANY**

7 November 1945

"1. We, the undersigned Monuments, Fine Arts and Archives Specialist Officers of the Armed Forces of the United States, wish to make known our convictions regarding the transportation to the United States of works of art, the property of German institutions or nationals, for purposes of protective custody.

"2. a. We are unanimously agreed that the transportation of those works of art, undertaken by the United States Army, upon direction from the highest national authority, established a precedent which is neither morally tenable nor trustworthy.

b. Since the beginning of United States participation in the war, it has been the declared policy of the Allied Forces, so far as military necessity would permit, to protect and preserve from deterioration consequent upon the processes of war, all monuments, documents, or other objects of historic, artistic, cultural, or archaeological value. The war is at an end and no doctrine of "military necessity" can now be invoked for the further protection of the objects to be moved, for the reason that depots and personnel, both fully competent for their protection, have been inaugurated and are functioning.

c. The Allied nations are at present preparing to prosecute individuals for the crime of sequestering, under pretext of "protective custody," the cultural treasures of German-occupied countries. A major

part of the indictment follows upon the reasoning that even though these individuals were acting under military orders, the dictates of a higher ethical law made it incumbent upon them to refuse to take part in, or countenance, the fulfillment of these orders. We, the undersigned, feel it our duty to point out that, though as members of the armed forces, we will carry out the orders we receive, we are thus put before any candid eyes as no less culpable than those whose prosecution we affect to sanction.

"3. We wish to state that from our own knowledge, no historical grievance will rankle so long, or be the cause of so much justified bitterness, as the removal, for any reason, of a part of the heritage of any nation, even if that heritage be interpreted as a prize of war. And though this removal may be done with every intention of altruism, we are none the less convinced that it is our duty, individually and collectively, to protest against it, and that though our obligations are to the nation to which we owe allegiance, there are yet further obligations to common justice, decency, and the establishment of the power of right, not might, among civilized nations."

Twenty-four of the thirty-two Monuments Specialist Officers in Germany signed this letter. The remaining eight expressed agreement with its sentiments or have expressed similar sentiments in separate letters.

Thus have the Monuments Specialist Officers in the field unanimously expressed their disapproval of General Clay's policy and their mistrust of the reasons stated for the removal of the two hundred paintings to America. It is useless to speculate as to the true reason for this act. Perhaps it was nothing more than a token shipment—a face-saving device that high authorities are sometimes forced to indulge in, once they find themselves committed to an unwise policy. Perhaps it was only because they are "damned good pictures."

Harvard University

LETTER TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE

January 15, 1946

*The Hon. James F. Byrnes, Secretary of State
Department of State
Washington, D.C.*

MY DEAR MR. SECRETARY:

The members of the College Art Association of America, a constituent member of the American Council of Learned Societies, have been disturbed by the removal to this country of works of art from Berlin museums.

Information that we have received from abroad leads us to believe that the integrity of United States policy has been questioned as a result of this action. We have also been informed that adequate facilities and American personnel now exist in the American zone in Germany to assure the proper care of art treasures in that area.

We would therefore urge that the Department of State clarify this action, and would strongly recommend that assurances be given that no further shipments are contemplated.

Yours truly,

RENSSELAER W. LEE, *President*
College Art Association of America

*Copies to members of the American Commission for the Protection
and Salvage of Artistic and Historic Monuments in War Areas.*

REPLY FROM THE STATE DEPARTMENT

January 25, 1946

*Mr. Rensselaer W. Lee, President
College Art Association of America
625 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York*

MY DEAR MR. LEE:

Your letter of January 15, urging the Department to clarify the action taken in removing to the United States certain works of art from German museums, has been received. In the absence of the Secretary, I am replying to your letter and am glad to give you additional information on this question.

The decision to remove these works of art to this country was made on the basis of a statement by General Clay that he did not have adequate facilities and personnel to safeguard German art treasures and that he could not undertake the responsibility of their proper care.

You indicated in your letter that you have been informed that adequate facilities and personnel now exist in the American zone for the protection of these art treasures. I must inform you that our information, based upon three separate investigations, is precisely to the contrary. The redeployment program has, as you no doubt realize, reduced American personnel in Germany and this reduction is applied to arts and monuments and this personnel as well as to other branches.

The coal situation in Germany is critical and has made it impossible to provide heat for the museums. General Clay cannot be expected to provide heat for the museums if that means taking it away from American forces, from hospitals, or from essential utility needs.

We were furthermore advised that the security situation was not such as to ensure adequate protection in Germany. In short, the Department's information is such that it cannot agree with your premise.

It was realized that the "integrity of United States policy" might be questioned by some if these works of art were removed to this country. After a careful review of the facts, it was decided that the most important aspect was to safeguard these priceless treasures by bringing them to this country where they could be properly cared for. It was hoped that the President's pledge that they would be returned to Germany would satisfy those who might be critical of this Government's motives.

Sincerely yours,

For the Acting Secretary of State:

JAMES W. RIDDLEBERGER

Chief, Division of

Central European Affairs

THE HISTORY OF ART AND THE ART OF HISTORY

BY JAMES HENRY BREASTED, JR.

TWO recent articles in the *COLLEGE ART JOURNAL*¹ have directed strong criticism upon the field of art history in American colleges and universities today. Mr. Wright has objected to the kind of textbooks available for use in art history courses, and has made specific recommendations for a different type of book on Far Eastern Art by more than fifty recognized authorities. He believes too much attention has been given to the writings of Aristotle, Vitruvius, Ruskin, Tolstoi, Ozenfant, Barnes, Ogden, and Clive Bell. Essentially he wants the history of art to be written so as to reveal all the works of art of a given period and place in relation to the then current modes of thought and experience.

In the second article Mr. Giedion considers that art historians have lost touch with life. He wants a new interpretation or perspective of history emotionally geared to this generation. Above all, he asks for more attention to anonymous history and to the study and collection of inventions and other material evidence of improvement in industrial production as historical sources lending insight into our patterns of thought and modes of life. He appears to give such sources equal documentary importance with the greatest works of art, and asks for the establishment of a museum of the American way of living.

To a certain extent these two interesting articles reaffirm the need for equipment which the teacher of art history has long realized. Adequate and accessible all-inclusive textbooks and study collections of the works of art for all periods of human history would definitely ease the labors of art history teachers, who spend long hours testing books for student reference material both textual and photographic. However, we wait patiently; for although *Clio* was ever a difficult muse, progress has been made.

Indeed, during the nineteenth century the foundations were laid for the writing of history in a manner similar to that prescribed in the articles of Mr. Wright and Mr. Giedion. In Germany Barthold G. Niebuhr said that the early history of every nation must be

¹ "Blueprint for a Textbook on Art" by S. Macdonald Wright (*C.A.J.* IV, 3), and "The Practical Arts in American History" by Sigfried Giedion (*C.A.J.* IV, 4).

rather of institutions than of events, of classes rather than individuals, of customs than of lawgivers. "All historians," said Mommsen somewhat later, "so far as they are worthy of the name are Niebuhr's pupils, not least those who are not of his school." But Freiherr Heinrich von Stein complained somewhat as Giedion that governments sent costly expeditions to Egypt and Brazil, and nothing was being done for the history of his people. Historians like Böhmer were convinced that knowledge of the past could be instructive for the present, and hoped that the true might lead to the good. Leopold von Ranke looked upon history not as having the task of judging the past and of instructing the present for the benefit of the ages to come, but of showing what actually occurred. For him, only universal history can be written, since there was a general historical life moving progressively from one nation or group of nations to another. History, he felt, is a single process.

In France, the first Napoleon denied that history can only be written long after the events and added: "One can say what occurred one year after an event as well as a hundred years. It is more likely to be true because the reader can judge by his own knowledge. . . . I do not want philosophy nor ecclesiastical history, but the history of facts." Despite his assertions, his circle of historians produced a very poor quality of history. After his demise, historical studies were revived by members of the Romantic School such as Augustin Thierry. At the end of a chapter in his *Norman Conquest*, Thierry wrote: "These men have been dead for seven hundred years. But what of that? For the imagination there is no past." Another Romantic historian, Michelet, went a step further when he wrote that history is nothing else than a record of the ceaseless struggle between man and nature.

Differing from the Romantic historians, the Political School as represented by Guizot regarded as threefold the task of the historian: (1) the collection of facts, (2) the study of their relation, and (3) the reconstruction of their form and motion. Every great historical work was to be judged by the degree to which it performed these functions. Healthy skepticism was encouraged. French scholars like Fustel de Coulanges urged that all opinions about history, including those most generally held, must be regarded with suspicion. Not only was the historian to approach his task without presuppositions, but without working hypotheses. Texts were to be used only with a mastery of the languages of the originals. All scenes in the past were to be viewed as the contemporaries saw them. Finally, he classi-

fied history as an objective science to be treated by the same methods as the physical sciences.

History as a presumably exact science found a talented advocate in Taine, who stood for determinism and materialism, and was convinced that the methods of science must be applied to the record of civilization. For him, three forces produce civilization: Race, Milieu, and the Moment, and thus he could say: "History is a mechanical problem. The only difference is that it cannot be measured by the same means or defined so exactly." In 1870, in his treatise on *Intelligence*, Taine anticipated men like Freud when he wrote: "History is applied psychology. The historian notes and traces the transformations presented by a human molecule or group of human molecules, and explains them by their psychology—Carlyle of Cromwell, Sainte-Beuve of Porte-Royal, Stendahl of the Italians, Renan of the Semitic race."

A more human treatment found expression through Ernest Renan, whose *History of the Jewish People* is so fascinatingly written that Brunetière has said: "All that the Frenchman of ordinary culture knows of the ancient East, of comparative religion, of exegesis, comes directly or indirectly from Renan." His presentation of a pageant of living men provided less a history than a partly imagined reconstruction of society and religion before the historical period.

The development of historical writing in England in the nineteenth century received an impetus from Palgrave and his emphasis upon the history of law as a clue to the political history of the English and the character of the people. He was followed by Macaulay, who was the first English writer to make history universally interesting. Rather blind to the invisible world of thought and emotion, he could describe but rarely explain the essence of his tale. He could dramatize brilliantly the external manifestations of history.

Anonymous history found a protagonist in the young Carlyle, who once asked: "Which was the greatest benefactor, he who gained the battles of Cannae and Trasimene, or the nameless poor who first hammered out for himself an iron spade?" Carlyle looked upon history as "not only the fittest but the only study" and one which includes all others. He called it "the true epic poem and the universal scripture." Nevertheless, his *French Revolution*, despite its literary and dramatic quality, is constructed upon slender scholarly foundations.

Later in the century William Stubbs, anticipating Giedion's criticism, complained that "it was not creditable to an educated people that while its students were well acquainted with the machinery of Athens and Rome, they should be ignorant of the institutions of their own forefathers."

At the very end of the nineteenth century Lord Acton took the position that the historian's function is "to command the movement of ideas, which are not the effect but the cause of public events." When he was appointed editor of the renowned *Cambridge Modern History*, he asserted: "Ultimate history we cannot have in this generation; but we can dispose of conventional history." Had Lord Acton been able to view from the distance of half a century the cumulative effect of the prodigious historical research of the nineteenth century, he might perhaps have questioned his own suggestion that his so-called "ultimate," or what is better termed "universal" history can ever be written. Except within the frame of reference of a given generation, no ultimate history is possible, for reasons which are set forth toward the end of this article. Furthermore, Lord Acton's thesis that historical events hang upon the movement of ideas requires that continual reinterpretation of the important ideological forces in history be made to relate a given series of events to those preceding or following. It is interesting to recall that fifty years before the St. John's College plan was evolved, Lord Acton had compiled a list of one hundred books for a young man "whose education is finished and who knows the common things." In a secular age he wanted to have history develop and strengthen conscience. Most cultivated people, he felt, "know some twenty or thirty predominant currents of thought or attitudes of mind which jointly weave the web of human history. All these a serious man ought to understand, in whatever weakness or strength they possess, in their causes and effects and relations. The majority of them are either religious or substitutes for religion."

It was not until after the middle of the nineteenth century that historical scholarship had delved broadly and deeply enough to permit the writing of universal history. Historical philosophies and literary values began to be considered inadequate for the most significant writing of history because epigraphic and archaeological researches were revealing facts and artifacts which revolutionized history temporally and spatially. With results of extensive research in the hands of historians a new kind of scholarly writing, the history of civilization, or *Kulturgeschichte*, developed remarkably.

A beginning had been made in the previous hundred years by Winckelmann, who had used the history of art as an instrument for a revelation of the Greek mind. After 1850 W. H. Riehl at Munich began to lecture on the history of civilization, dispensing to his fortunate audience (among whom was the young Lord Acton) new views on history, deeper than any existing in literature. As a musician and music critic, Riehl gave equal importance to music, poetry and science, and emphasized that the evolution of musical forms offered solutions to many problems in the history of German sentiment.

During the same decade that Riehl was speaking in Munich, Jacob Burckhardt delivered his famous lectures in Basel. As early as 1842, he wrote: "For me the background is the chief consideration, and that is provided by *Kulturgeschichte*, to which I intend to dedicate myself." With the publication of his *Civilization of the Renaissance* in 1860, *Kulturgeschichte* was firmly established among historical genres. Burckhardt possessed an immense knowledge of literary sources of the Renaissance, but had made no profound study of the Middle Ages. He failed to explain how the Renaissance originated and developed, and left out the Medieval foundations of Italian culture. In spite of its failings, Lord Acton called it "the most penetrating and subtle treatise on the history of civilization that exists in literature." Its value is considered so great that eighty-four years later and after countless editions, it is available today in a new Phaidon Press (1944) pocket edition.

Another result of the new archaeological and epigraphic discoveries of the latter half of the nineteenth century, which had already established new standards of scholarship, was to set prospective historians off on tremendous projects and undertakings, many of which could not be completed in any one man's lifetime. Starting in 1862 and continuing until nearly the end of the century, Perrot and Chipiez published a series of important volumes comprising an encyclopaedic survey of arts and crafts of antiquity. Theodor Mommsen succeeded in getting scholars of many countries to combine in enterprises too vast for the resources of a single state. His greatest project, the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinorum*, ultimately containing 130,000 inscriptions, began to appear in print in 1863. The forty-first and final part was not published until 1920. Mommsen's successor, Edward Meyer, began in 1884 to publish his monumental *Geschichte des Altertums*, still the most authoritative work on the early chapters of the human career. Meyer mastered

every language of the original sources on which he based his writings and was conscious of what he called the universal character of history in ancient as well as modern times. Newer editions of this great work were brought out by Meyer and were continued after his death by his student, Hans Erich Stier, who produced a third edition of volume three as recently as 1937. It is interesting to note that no single English-speaking scholar has attempted to equal Meyer's achievement. The *Cambridge Ancient History*, comprising 12 text volumes and 5 volumes of plates, has been written by a large number of scholars. It is not intended for ordinary undergraduates, and while it is a work of great value and erudition, it lacks unity and consistency such as only a single author or a very small group of authors could give.

After the turn of the century the quantity of new discoveries almost surpassed the capacity of the historians to deal with them. In Near Eastern and classical archaeology came an ever rising flood of published expedition reports often not very well correlated or integrated with each other because of the speed with which many had to be written. The volume of material could be competently dealt with by first-class scholars only, very few of whom had the time or the courage to undertake the arduous task of writing synthetic histories of civilization, in which the history of art would have place.

The Italian Renaissance was not the only field in which *Kulturgeschichte* would appear. Egyptology moved far in this direction when Adolf Erman published his *Aegypten und Aegyptisches Leben im Altertum* in 1885-87 with chapters on every important facet of Egyptian culture. Almost a generation later Breasted's *History of Egypt* (1905) was based entirely on epigraphic and archaeological knowledge gained wholly from direct contact in the field with all the pertinent material. Almost nothing was taken second hand. But subsequent discoveries have made obsolescent this important work. Another group of scholars, the anthropologists, have developed *Kulturgeschichte* remarkably in dealing with primitive peoples of modern times.

Both Mr. Wright and Mr. Giedion are asking for a kind of *Kulturgeschichte* which is more inclusive than any at present available, with the possible exception of the writings of Arnold J. Toynbee (*A Study of History*), Sir James G. Frazer (*The Golden Bough*), H. G. Wells (*Outline of History*), James H. Breasted (*The Conquest of Civilization*) and perhaps some others. Written by a single author

in each case, these works have been read so widely as to have had in sum a world-wide influence. Part of this general acceptance is due to the unity of concept and style which only single authorship can produce.

In the realm of the arts alone the task of the historian is large enough to be beyond the capacity of many a competent single author, though it has been attempted by Stites in his *The Arts and Man*. Mr. Wright suggests half a hundred scholars for the task in the field of the Far East alone. With so large a number of contributors, the diversity of the book would be confusing, probably even to specialists. The number of collaborating authors should be kept as small as possible.

Mr. Wright prefers subjective values. The cursory sketch in this article of the development of historical writing during the past hundred or more years is intended to indicate how far we have advanced toward unbiassed and sound scholarship. It should be obvious that completely objective history has not been attained. No historian has yet escaped entirely from his inherited provincialism of time and place and class to write from some detached Olympian seat. In the irreversible flow of time, and in the face of increasing knowledge, ever lengthening views and better understanding of what the new knowledge means, each generation has been able and has found it necessary to see the past from the subjectivity of its own peculiar perspective. In this sense, history will always be subjective, and no ultimate or truly universal history can be written. But admitting all this does not preclude the possibility and desirability of achieving within the frail limits of humanity a scholarly detachment which is not swayed by every present-day social, political, economic, scientific, philosophical, or religious fad. Judged by this standard, very few of the not very numerous art-historical textbooks are satisfactory. The tradition of art-historical writing is not by many centuries as old as that of more conventional history. American scholarship has thus far contributed to it rather little in comparison with that of Europe. A good start may have been made by the American Army in teaching area language subjects. This new approach has revealed that the study of integrated areas of history in which human life is examined in all its manifestations—society, industry, commerce, religion, art in all forms, literature—gives students and scholars alike a comprehension of cultural phenomena which seems to be superior to the results of the traditional academic methods of specialization.

If this approach to history takes root in American colleges and universities, it may help to cut lines of communication through the intellectual barbed wire barricades separating many departments. The divisional program of the humanities at Princeton, depending upon the collaboration of half a dozen departments, has operated so successfully even under the stress of war, as to suggest the essential rightness of this new synthesis.²

Mr. Giedion asks for museums of the American way of life and for university chairs of anonymous history. In the first instance, the Rosenwald Museum of Science and Industry in Chicago, the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C., and Henry Ford's Museum of Americana in Dearborn, Michigan, contain quantities of the kind of inventions, gadgets, and other objects of the type described by Mr. Giedion which reveal much about our development. The destruction and loss of some Patent Office models may not appear as serious as he suggests when it is remembered that a very large proportion of patents have been taken out by cranks and somewhat unbalanced persons. In such cases the models tell much about their makers, but little about American life as a whole. As for professorships in anonymous history, the activities of such men would be an extension of the methods and aims of the traditional archaeologist into the area of the recent past. They would be academic equivalents of the already existing museum curators in institutions such as the three named.

In putting forward their respective pleas, Messrs. Wright and Giedion have perhaps exaggerated the situation a little. The cure has been in the making for more than a hundred years. There will always be a lag between written history as it is, and as some of the cultured members of a society think it should be. Just as the gap seems to have been closed, the flow of time fortunately opens it up again.

University of California at Los Angeles

² Cf. "Art History and the Study of American Civilization," by Donald Drew Egbert (C.A.J. IV, 4).

RESEARCH IN AMERICAN ART: THREE REPORTS

I. STUDIES IN REGIONAL ARCHITECTURE¹

BY REXFORD NEWCOMB

ARCHITECTURE reflects, as do few other arts, the life and thought of a race, a place, or an age. A careful examination of the relationship between any architecture and its environment, geographic or human, will bear out the truth of this statement. The student who would fully understand any style or period of architecture must understand not only the history, the genius, and the social and religious customs of its builders, but also the geographic, geologic, and climatic conditions of the land of its inception.

In few countries is so wide a diversity of architectural expression to be encountered as in the United States, and in no country can the causes of that diversity be more readily discovered than here. The reasons are obvious. Our nation is a far-flung sisterhood of states with varying climates, topographies and resources, and mixed ethnic relationships. The resulting regional patterns of thought and folkways are varied, in spite of increasingly rapid means of communication and transportation.

Opened to European settlement at a time when the leading nations of the Old World were seeking lands for exploitation, that area in America which is now the United States became a theater for colonial development at the hands of the French, the English, the Dutch and the Spanish with later infiltrations of Quakers, Swedes, Scotch-Irish, and Pennsylvania Germans. In time, oppressed religious groups from various countries like Scotland, Germany and Scandinavia also found spiritual asylum in America. Once the United States was able to offer wider social and economic opportunities than those afforded by their home lands, America became a mecca for the Welsh, the Irish, the Italians, Poles, Portuguese, and various other races who came in increasing numbers to make of this country that melting pot of bloods, customs, ideas and ideals that we have long known her to be.

¹ From a paper read at the Midwestern College Art Conference at Northwestern University, November 2-3, 1945.

Most of these peoples, except the Spanish, came hither by way of the Atlantic seaboard. But America is a large country, and, once that seaboard was conquered, the more daring and restless elements of the population sought new opportunities and the chance of fortune in the regions farther westward. It was westward into inner Virginia, western Pennsylvania, Kentucky and Tennessee that these people first spread, but soon what is now Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin felt the tread of the pioneer's foot. When these lands were comfortably settled, it was the trans-Mississippi territories of Missouri, Iowa, Kansas and Nebraska that called. Then came the trek to the Northwest, the days of the Oregon Trail, the settlement of the Mormons in the Valley of the Great Salt Lake and the expansion by way of the Santa Fé Trail to the Hispanic Southwest. Thus there has been enacted within our land a stupendous pioneer pageant the like of which no other country in the history of the world has witnessed.

Now the architectural expressions of all of these movements have, with the exception of those upon the Atlantic seaboard, scarcely been studied and no genuine synthesis will be possible until this whole mixed and spotty picture can be resolved. To this end I have for years encouraged graduate students at the University to undertake regional studies. Little by little, the resulting surveys and theses have helped to fill in parts of the jig-saw pattern. There is great need for all sorts of special studies, by cities, by regions, by states and indeed by groups of states.

I have for years advocated architectural surveys by states, realizing full well that state lines do not and cannot limit architectural thought or expression and indeed in many cases make somewhat arbitrary boundaries for architectural studies. However, there are many agencies with whom the architectural historian must deal in the prosecution of his work and these for the most part are organized upon state-wide patterns. Thus such a procedure becomes a matter of expediency.

In the study of the American Colonial, for example, we divide the monuments into regions but certainly not upon the basis of present state lines. Likewise in tracing the trek of Colonial-derived motifs into the middle west we can scarcely be hampered by state boundaries. What happened to colonial forms in Kentucky and Tennessee, in the old Northwest Territory and as far west as Iowa and Kansas present questions that transcend arbitrary boundaries and merit treatment upon a wider regional basis.

In one of my own studies, called *Old Kentucky Architecture*, I treated the architectural expression of a rather special area—that is the Blue Grass section of the State. There are other major regions in Kentucky (the eastern mountains, the Bear grass, the "Pennyrile" and the Purchase) that could be studied with profit and any number of local studies that are definitely needed. By this it will be seen that Kentucky which one might be led to consider as a unit, a region in itself, is in reality a series of regions.

Again, why rivers should be taken as boundary lines of any sort, is, I think, a good question. My observations lead me to believe that drainage basins constitute natural patterns for occupation, communication and folk habits, and that, instead of separating regions, counties and states, rivers actually unify them.

No one can study the architecture of southern portions of Ohio, Indiana or Illinois without reference to what transpired in the balance of the Ohio drainage basin and indeed beyond it. Likewise one cannot pay attention to the architecture of the northwestern, lead-bearing country of Illinois without considering therewith what happened in the mining areas of southwestern Wisconsin and across the Mississippi in the Dubuque area of Iowa as well. Indeed to understand the southern influence detected in the architecture of this region, one has to reckon with the Mississippi as a carrier of architectural ideas. Before the days of railroads, architectural materials and notions travelled largely by water—rivers and canals. Thus the student must understand these patterns of communication and transportation.

In the French settlements along the American Bottom of Illinois, the Mississippi River did not separate people. It united them. And this in spite of the fact that, for a time during French occupation of this region, the two banks of the river were ruled by different European powers. Indeed today, with the site of Kaskaskia (one of the oldest towns in Illinois and the first state capital) under the Mississippi and with Cahokia almost as effectively obliterated by the flood of modern industry, the only place where one can study any authentic remains of the French-Canadian architecture of the Illinois country is across the Mississippi at Sainte Genevieve in Missouri.

But perhaps I have belabored this matter. What I am trying to point out is the very great need for smaller regional and local studies and something of the pattern which these studies should take. There are literally hundreds of opportunities here in the midwestern

states, and I should like to encourage teachers of the history of art and architecture to assign regional researches to their students and to undertake similar studies upon their own account.

At the University of Illinois before a student is encouraged to do historic research in any field, he has already passed through a carefully planned sequence of six courses in the history of architecture, the terminal course of which is a general survey of American Architecture (Arch. 18). Moreover during his junior and senior years he has been introduced to the techniques of advanced research and historical method in the competitions for the Ricker Prize and Allerton Scholarships in the History of Architecture. In these competitions the student is encouraged to exhaust a relatively restricted subject rather than treat superficially a larger theme. Frequently in connection with Architecture 18, special smaller regional investigations in the American field are assigned. In general, however, regional studies requiring field research, the measuring of monuments and the like are reserved for the graduate student. I have found the enthusiasm which accompanies the assignment of regional studies a very great spur to achievement on the part of the student. There is nothing comparable to original research for the training of the worker, and the closer the research to the student's own interests, the better will be the results.

Of course I can only train my students along lines that I have found natural and effective. I refuse to leave unturned any phase of the life or history of the region under consideration. Geography, geology, climate, and the natural resources are all carefully examined. The human history, religious, social and economic patterns, folkways, literature and other conditions are explored as background to field work. State histories and county historical atlases, local newspaper files, local museums, historical societies, old residents and other resources of the area are tapped for what information they may offer. Publications of many kinds are examined. Census, agricultural, geological and weather reports are combed for any possible material. Frequently voluminous correspondence is carried on with people interested in the history of the area.

Most of this work I ask the student to have behind him before he begins seriously the recording of the architectural monuments. Then we go over the field and make a *corpus* of the monuments to be considered. For this we "process" each building according to a questionnaire which requires the filling in of all pertinent information in careful order. This material, as it is reduced to

cards, is then filed under the appropriate heading according to the outline of the study in hand. All such data secured in the field are then checked against any possible published material, while at the same time the bibliography is being fashioned and any new information is added to the corpus cards.

Once the buildings pertinent to the study are determined upon, they are photographed and measured. I use quadrupled paper and sketch all plans, elevations and details *to scale*, entering also the measurements given me by the rule or tape. This forms a double check. The measuring technique used is that generally employed by architects. Sometimes students, good at field sketching, do all their illustrations by this method. Not long ago one such student illustrated his whole study by a series of full-page lithographic plates upon which he assembled sketched plans, perspectives and details of the buildings under consideration.

Once all these materials are in hand, the balancing and weighing of the evidence begins. From there on the matter is a well known intellectual procedure and needs no description here. Little by little the evidence falls into place, bit by bit the argument enunciates itself and the task of writing is undertaken.

I have found such regional studies vastly interesting to the public in the areas under consideration. I cannot say how many times I have given my lecture upon the *Old Mission Churches of California* or upon *Old Kentucky Architecture*. State historical and other regional societies, women's clubs, Rotary, Kiwanis and countless similar groups have called upon me for presentations of these and other regional themes.

Perhaps I should close with just a word about the *Corpus of American Architecture* which we are constituting at the University of Illinois. This grew out of an interest generated in connection with Historical American Building Survey in Illinois. When the survey began its work, we discovered that the University had nowhere in its possession any considerable amount of assembled material upon architecture within the state. With the help of National Youth Administration workers and suggestions from our Historical American Building Survey Committee, we began the task of assembling material upon Illinois architecture. In this connection we were able to assign some topics to the Federal Writers' Project and as a result got several valuable compilations.

Soon, however, the question of the limitations of state boundaries arose and little by little, through the addition of collections of

regional material upon New England, the Pennsylvania Germans, Ohio, Louisiana, Kentucky, the Hispanic Southwest and other areas, the collection grew into a *Corpus of American Architecture*. It is our hope in time to include in the Corpus data on every important American building, past and present. The work necessarily proceeds slowly. One full-time library researcher is at present employed upon the Corpus with such help as the staff of Ricker Library of Architecture, the faculty in the history of architecture and I can give to the work.

Corpus of American Architecture—College of Fine and Applied Arts

Style _____		Phase _____	
A. Building _____			
B. Location _____			
C. Owner	C1	Original	_____
	C2	Present	_____
D. Date of construction: (D1) Began _____		(D2) Completed _____	
E. Architect _____			
FIRM MEMBERS:		BIRTH	DEATH
(E1) _____		(E1b) _____	(E1d) _____
(E2) _____		(E2b) _____	(E2d) _____
(E3) _____		(E3b) _____	(E3d) _____
(E4) _____		(E4b) _____	(E4d) _____
(E5) _____		(E5b) _____	(E5d) _____
F. Builder _____			
G. Materials _____			
References: _____			

Remarks: _____			

Photograph _____			

Fig. 1. PRINTED FORM (8½" x 11") FOR RECORDING ARCHITECTURAL MONUMENTS

The data and other typed materials are filed on 8½" x 11" sheets (fig. 1) in steel cabinets. The photographs, for the most part 8" x 10", are dry-mounted on 11" x 14" gray cards with captions appropriately lettered. These are also filed in steel cabinets and

arranged according to period. A card index of the photographs is maintained. A particular effort is being made to secure material upon buildings that have disappeared from the earth.

Thus in one way or another our regional studies are being carried on; little by little the interstices in the pattern of American architecture are being filled.

University of Illinois

II. EARLY PAINTING IN INDIANA¹

BY WILBUR D. PEAT

THIS project began six years ago—ten years after I arrived in Indianapolis. While getting information about certain artists in connection with an exhibition of old portraits it was brought forcibly home to me that I knew very little about the early practitioners of the art of painting in the Hoosier state; and what was very surprising too, was the discovery that the majority of owners of old portraits did not know any more than I did about the artists who painted them, and in most cases did not even know their names.

The surprise would not have been so great, perhaps, if a history of Indiana art had not been published only a few years before, which I believed to be definitive.² With this in all the libraries and in many Indiana homes, I took it for granted that one had only to turn to it for all the answers. But, of course, no single book has all the answers, and however valuable this history was as a general survey of the field, it lacked thoroughness, it did not always deal with specific works, and it made no attempt to analyze the characteristic styles of different painters.

Driven partly by necessity and partly by curiosity I started on a pursuit of lost limners, first in Indianapolis, then out into the state. I had no method of inquiry in mind. My aim was to find out everything I could, knowing that methods and procedures would evolve after the search had gotten underway. I only knew that in point of time I would not have to go back farther than the year

¹From a paper read at the Midwestern College Art Conference at Northwestern University, November 2-3, 1945.

²Mary Q. Burnet, *Art and Artists of Indiana*, New York: Century, 1921.

1800, and that I would not carry my investigation beyond the borders of the state.

The year 1800 may seem late when compared with the start of artistic activities in the eastern states, but for Indiana it is the beginning, both politically and culturally. In the eighteenth century the region was a wilderness, a part of the great Northwest Territory, inhabited by Indians, a number of French and English fur traders and a few adventurous squatters. With the beginning of the nineteenth century a section of the Northwest Territory embracing what is now Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin and Michigan, was marked off and called Indiana Territory; nine years later it was again subdivided, and in 1816 Indiana was admitted to the Union.

Before the opening of the century, the region held out poor prospects to painters in the East, but as settlers poured into the state, first from the South and then from the East, there arrived on the scene that typical American paint-jobber—resourceful if not masterful—equipped to paint signs, carriages, effigies and whatever could be done with brush and color. The population increased so rapidly in the early part of the century (it jumped from about one thousand to sixty thousand in the first fifteen years) that more skilful painters began to arrive who carried on rather brisk business, particularly if they kept traveling around. This matter of constant mobility, practiced as a matter of course by preachers, lawyers, merchants and painters in the frontier region, adds materially to the problem of re-establishing their identity and tracking down their work. It has also led many people to disparage these early products, regarding the term *itinerant* as synonymous with *rank incompetence*.

Soon after I started my investigations I realized that there were two phases to the problem: first, that of locating as many paintings as possible in order to determine the number of painters who were active in different parts of the state at different times; and secondly, that of finding every possible scrap of recorded information about the painters and their careers. My inquiries brought me into contact with indifferent or even hostile people in one place, and with cordial or extremely loquacious people in another. In most cases my approach was that of the familiar Fuller Brush Man who goes from door to door telling each housewife that a neighbor up the street suggested his calling on her. I even acquired the salesman's trick of slipping my foot in the door so as to introduce myself and state my mission before the door slammed in my face. Not all

homes to which I gained admittance had paintings which interested me, but each formed a link in a chain that eventually led to exciting discoveries.

In the two years between the autumn of 1939 and our entry into the War, I visited sixty-five towns and cities in the state, calling on hundreds of families and interviewing many historians, librarians, teachers and curators of historical museums and art galleries. I traveled by automobile with notebooks, catalog cards, photographic equipment—and nerve. As my time was limited I could not stay very long in any one place so I had to make repeated visits to larger cities like South Bend, Fort Wayne, Richmond, Terre Haute and Evansville. Communities like Vincennes, New Harmony and Madison, rich in historic lore, usually proved more fertile than newer towns and consumed a lot of my time.

I found that two notebooks were essential: one arranged alphabetically by artists in which I kept pertinent facts about their careers and lists of their known pictures; the second was arranged alphabetically by towns, in which I jotted down information about people I met and the owners of old pictures. I also carried a supply of catalog cards with printed subject headings on which I could record data relating to the size, medium and condition of pictures. The card catalog now includes the names of more than five hundred painters who were active in Indiana during the nineteenth century—four hundred more names than on any previous list. These names were obtained from publications of every type, from inscriptions on canvases and from information gotten from the owners of paintings.

My photographic equipment consisted of a small camera, with bellows and a frosted glass finder in the back. I used film packs, $3\frac{1}{4}'' \times 4\frac{1}{4}''$, and found them very satisfactory. Developing and printing was done by a commercial firm. My tripod had extensions on its legs enabling me to focus on paintings high on walls without too much distortion. A pair of photoflood lights completed my equipment. From earlier experiences I could estimate the proper exposures, as I did not always carry an exposure meter on the trips. Not being a photographer by avocation nor inclination, the results did not compete with the work of Alfred Stieglitz, but they served my purpose—both as records and as means of studying the paintings later. I might add in parentheses that I met the expense of films, developing and printing by selling duplicate prints to the Indiana Historical Society—inasmuch as most of the photographs

were likenesses of early residents of the state—and to the Frick Art Reference Library in New York. My photograph file at present contains four hundred and twenty subjects which I have taken, and many more gathered from other sources.

Although most of the paintings found on my trips were in private homes, a surprisingly large number were in court houses and other government buildings, in historical and art museums, banks, schools and colleges, libraries, orphanages and homes for the aged. I have not looked for them in jails yet, but I have found some in saloons—and not all of them enticing sirens in languid poses. The best works I know by two of our early painters hang in taverns, and I think we can safely deduce the circumstances of their being there. I found that the state capitol building in Indianapolis possessed a complete set of portraits in oil of Indiana governors—one of the few complete collections of its kind—but no one knew who painted them, and no one seemed to care. For a few months I applied all my skill as a detective to the case and found a surprising number of interesting incidents in connection with the forming of the collection and the execution of the different portraits. This was published by our Historical Society last year.³

By far the largest number of paintings that I saw were portraits, as might be expected. They were not always commissioned by rich families. Pioneer settlers with very modest incomes had likenesses made of the elder members of their households, and if the painters did not receive very much money for their work they were amply remunerated in farm produce or other products. The wish of these families to get accurate reproductions of the sitters' physiognomies (spoken of in this part of the country as "spitting likenesses") together with the painters' lack of suavity in handling brushes and their neglect of rich color organization usually resulted in dull pictures, when regarded as works of art. But a certain technical forthrightness combined with convincing characterization redeem them, in my opinion, as portraits, and give them considerable interest.

In addition to the portraits that exist in every community, one finds a few figure compositions (called "ideal" or "fancy" pictures in the early days), an occasional still-life arrangement, and a few landscapes. Landscapes did not become popular in Indiana until after 1870, although a few were painted as early as 1840.

The value of making these firsthand contacts with paintings and

³ Wilbur D. Peat, *Portraits and Painters of the Governors of Indiana, 1800-1943*, Indiana Historical Society, Indianapolis, 1944.

their owners is obvious. They enabled me to study, photograph and catalog them, note signatures and inscriptions, and quiz the owners regarding the artists and their careers—the last, I am sorry to say, frequently failed to produce information. Portraits could usually be dated with a fair degree of accuracy with the aid of people who knew when their ancestors were born, married, divorced or buried.

While signatures are rare on early nineteenth century pictures a few inscriptions have been found on the faces or backs of canvases and on the backs of stretchers and frames. It has been my experience that if these inscriptions were made by the artist, or by original members of the family, they were very valuable, but if they were later annotations they had to be accepted with caution.

I never failed to remove a picture from a wall to inspect the back, if I could. This was hard enough to do in the average home, but doubly hard in most museums. I recall an experience I had in one of our historical museums where the curator took his responsibility seriously and had, in addition, a very sour disposition. A portrait hanging high on the wall was painted in a style that resembled others that I had seen in the neighborhood, and I had a hunch that if I could examine it more closely I would find a clue that might identify the painter. While I was trying to figure out how I could get closer to it, the curator received a message over the telephone that called him away from the museum for a while and I lost no time in finding a ladder and getting the picture down. A long inscription on the back of the canvas gave me the name of the artist, his residence and the date of the painting, and on the basis of this information I was able to identify a number of other portraits of considerable historic and artistic importance. I photographed the picture, hung it up on the wall and put the ladder away before the curator returned. He doesn't know to this day what a help to me that telephone call was.

At the end of a year's work I found that I could identify the authors of a number of pictures on the basis of style or manner of working. This was a source of considerable satisfaction, particularly when the owners of portraits seemed very anxious to know who painted their ancestors. A number of amusing incidents occurred in this connection, particularly when I disagreed with traditional attributions, or doubted the conclusions reached by others who had studied the pictures recently. While assembling a collection of Jacob Cox's work for an exhibition in our museum (Cox was the leading painter in Indianapolis between 1840 and 1870), I called on

a number of families who had paintings ascribed to that artist. In one home I was proudly shown a pair of portraits assigned by tradition to Cox but they did not look right to me. The owner resented my skepticism, and my attempt to convince him that they might have been painted by someone else was of no avail. As I was wiping a coat of dust and soot off one of the canvases an inscription appeared, to the surprise of all, and I was greatly relieved when it turned out to be the signature of another artist. I was not always lucky enough to have my deductions bolstered by evidence of this kind, however. In some instances I found that signatures were unreliable. One of our historical museums in southern Indiana owns a very attractive portrait of a young soldier painted during the Civil War or soon afterward, and in a lower corner, in a bold hand, is inscribed the name of a painter who was working in the community during the nineties. Not only was there this difference in date but the style of painting was not that of the artist whose signature it bore. I called the curator's attention to the fraud but I don't know if he has had this signature removed. I'm not even sure that he entirely agreed with me. In another city I was shown a portrait of an eminent early citizen painted in the community about 1835. It was traditionally assigned to Benjamin West, but, of course, I had no difficulty pointing out the discrepancy in date and style. I believe the surname of the artist may be all right, and I am inclined to think he was William E. West of Kentucky.

Not long after I began my trips I realized that neither the paintings nor their owners could yield much information about the painters. This started me off on the second phase of my research, which I carried on simultaneously with my inspection of pictures. Fortunately, our historical library in Indianapolis has extensive collections of old newspapers, histories and other publications from all parts of the state, so I was able to hunt for pertinent recorded data without leaving the city. However, I worked in other libraries and historical societies when I could; and I frequently received data from people who accidentally came across bits of information that they thought would be of interest to me.

I will not attempt to name all the sources from which I gathered information. I carefully scanned city, county and state histories, articles in historical bulletins and other publications, reviews of art activities that appeared in newspapers, and names in city directories. I mentioned earlier the history of Indiana art that appeared in 1921; it was preceded by a series of short articles about

Indiana artists written by a local painter in 1916,⁴ and by an essay on painting, sculpture and architecture that appeared in an Indianapolis newspaper in 1893.⁵ The earliest account of art activities in Indianapolis appeared in the foreword of the town's first directory, dated 1857.⁶

Everyone who has undertaken this kind of research realizes that the deeper he digs the nearer he comes to reliable source material, and the finding of it not only assures accuracy but adds to the satisfaction of doing it.

The most discouraging job for me was that of looking through old newspapers where a great deal of printed matter had to be scanned in order to find a few crumbs of information. Editors in the good old days were just as reluctant to believe that art was news as their colleagues are today, and the only way an announcement got into print was through the advertising section. Fortunately, the itinerant painter would often run an advertisement in the local paper, announcing his presence, stating his qualifications, and inviting the citizens to come and inspect specimens of his work. The fact that these can be dated adds materially to their value.

Other primary sources of information about artist's careers that I have found are letters and accounts written by early settlers, legal documents, parish records, and books kept by superintendents of cemeteries. More than once I have turned, as the last resort in my search for the dates of artists' births and deaths, to the cemeteries, getting the information directly from the tombstones. Although brief, such statements are usually accurate.

My reference to old letters in archives calls to mind some interesting correspondence I found in our state library, between one of our first Hoosier artists and his father in Newport, Rhode Island. He was Lewis Peckham, and I only knew of him as the painter of a portrait that someone had assigned to him. In his letters he revealed that while stationed at Fort Independence, Boston Harbor, he was "mostly employed painting miniatures of the officers" and that he met Stewart (presumably Gilbert Stuart) who allowed Peckham to use his studio in Boston. This was in 1810. Later Peckham was sent to Detroit, and with the fall of the city, made a prisoner by the

⁴ William Forsyth, 15 articles in *Indianapolis News*, beginning August 12, 1916 and appearing bi-weekly. Published as *Art in Indiana*, Indianapolis: H. Lieber & Co., 1916.

⁵ "Indiana Monographs," *Indianapolis News*, July 20, 1893.

⁶ "History of Indianapolis" by Ignatius Brown, (foreword to) *Logan's Indianapolis City Directory*, Indianapolis, 1857.

British. After his release from prison and his discharge from the army in 1815, he went to Vincennes, Indiana, and began his career as a portrait painter. From the parish records of the cathedral we learn that he married Mary Dagenet there in 1819. I have yet to find where and when the painter died.

About the middle of the nineteenth century newspapers in Indianapolis began to print brief comments about artists, particularly in connection with exhibitions, raffles or auction sales of paintings. These seem to have been regarded as legitimate *news* items by the editors. As early as 1841 we are told of an exhibition of paintings by Jacob Cox in the committee room of the State House in Indianapolis. (An artist holding a one-man show in a State House today would be creating news, too!) In 1843 there appeared in the same paper the announcement of a sale of paintings by Jacob Cox and Worthington Whittredge at Wiley's Auction Room. As exhibitions became more numerous, critical articles began to appear, sometimes with amusing sequels; it was through one of these critical outbursts in the Indianapolis press that we learn that Lew Wallace, statesman, soldier, and author of *Ben Hur*, painted a picture in which Cupid appeared with purple wings. It seems the art critic did not approve of Cupid with purple wings.

Exhibitions inevitably lead to the printing of catalogs, and although they were late in Indiana's history, they have been a very valuable source of information in reconstructing the story of Indiana art. Names of painters have been found in them that have not appeared elsewhere; titles of pictures have assisted us in re-assigning work to certain people; and when the works of deceased artists were shown, as was sometimes the case, dates of their births and deaths were frequently given in biographical notes.

I have not been fortunate enough to find very much autobiographical material, but there is one notable manuscript preserved in Lafayette written by George Winter, a young Englishman, who went to central Indiana in 1837 to paint the Indians. In addition to his careful drawings and water colors of Indians, and his portraits in oil of early residents of that region, he wrote a diary and an autobiography. Their historical value is obvious, and together with his paintings they make George Winter a most commanding and significant figure among our pioneer artists.

Another means of obtaining information about early painters and their work was through personal correspondence with descendants

or people who knew the artists intimately. It is not always easy to track down relatives (they are frequently in other parts of the country) but when their addresses are obtained an exchange of letters can add materially to one's knowledge of an artist's career. Most people are flattered when they receive an inquiry of this kind, but I have discovered that many of them dislike writing letters as much as I do, and postpone answering. An elderly gentleman in Arizona, grandson of one of our early Indiana painters, delayed sending the requested data a little too long; he died before he compiled it, and I'm afraid the information I wanted has gone with him to his grave.

In addition to my correspondence with relatives, I have obtained some valuable information by mail from other museums and from people who have been carrying on similar researches in other states. The latter are not as numerous as I should like; if there were more historians working in states adjoining ours, the reconstruction of these early art activities would progress much more rapidly. Many painters went back and forth through this region and sometimes when material about them cannot be found in one place it has been known to turn up in another.

My correspondence file, although rather impressive in bulk, is still woefully incomplete when I take stock of the unfinished business. This is partly due to the limited time that I have been able to give to the project.

I believe I have discussed the most important phases of the work that has been carried on in connection with reconstructing the history of painting in Indiana, and the way I have gone about it. Some idea of the amount of data that has been assembled was suggested earlier. When we analyze this, however, we realize that there is a lot to be done yet. For instance the card file on nineteenth century painters, which I said contained more than five hundred names, is still too brief. Half of the cards contain *names* only; work and biographies are yet to be found. Many paintings have been cataloged and photographed which are still without known authors, but gradually we hope to fit names and pictures together.

May I say in conclusion that I have no illusions about the quality of the work produced in this region during the nineteenth century (as compared with that in our large eastern cities) nor about the profundity of my research. So far I have regarded my job as that of a detective not a critic; and although I realize that some of the

paintings are of greater artistic merit than others, I have not allowed this to hinder my investigation of the less exciting works. It has been my aim to get as much information as I can, leaving the evaluation of the material to the future.

While the research so far has been fragmentary and spasmodic, I feel that it has a number of worth-while aspects. First, there is a growing conviction among American museum workers and historians of art that we should know more about our native artists of the nineteenth century, as witnessed by the books and articles that have been written on this subject, the number of exhibitions that have been held recently, and the interest that collectors, both public and private, have taken in them—and yet we know very little about the period as a whole.

It seems to me that we need more original research and less rehashing of familiar material, and it is to be hoped that some of our younger historians of art will seriously undertake the study of a phase of early American art, rather than an abstruse problem relating to a monument in some remote country which, probably, they will never see and which cannot be of the slightest interest to anyone beyond their small circles of colleagues. The excitement of quest in early American art is just as great, and a thesis developed in this field can be just as profound.

Another factor that has spurred me on was the realization that paintings are being taken away to other cities and states; and elder members of families, who might have information for us about the early painters are not long for this world. It is hard enough to identify works of art when they are still in their places of origin and in the possession of descendants of the original owners. Obviously the farther away they get, in time and place, the harder becomes the work of reconstruction. We are fortunate in Indiana in that dealers have not exploited the field of nineteenth century painting yet. They can seriously complicate one's study of a region by removing pictures for the market.

The third reason I have for saying that this is a worth-while undertaking is that anything we can do to add to our knowledge and appreciation of our early American heritage will be a contribution to American history in general. The culture of frontier regions may not show up to advantage when compared with that of the more developed cities of the Atlantic seaboard, or of Europe, but the Midwest is getting over its inferiority complex and is looking back on

its humble but dynamic past with a great deal of interest—a past made up of artistic activities as well as political intrigues and business enterprises.

Personally it has been a source of real satisfaction to see the personalities of these all-but-forgotten painters unfold as fragments of stories about their lives have been pieced together and samples of their work have been brought to light.

*John Herron Art Museum
Indianapolis, Ind.*

III. COLBY COLLEGE AND THE ARTS OF MAINE

BY OLIVER W. LARKIN

TO BE narrowly concerned, in matters of culture, with what is immediate and local, is the mark of a provincial mind; but as Ferner Nuhn wrote in that wise book, *The Wind Blew from the East*, it is equally restrictive to ignore what is peculiarly of one's own time and place. That American scholars have too long been provincials in this latter sense would seem as obviously true as that a new attitude is in the making. In the May issue of the COLLEGE ART JOURNAL Alfred Barr disposed of objections that have been raised against scholarly work in the American field, Donald Egbert reminded us that the student of our civilization has the advantage of firsthand acquaintance with his subject, and Frank J. Roos referred to some of the regions and some of the builders hitherto neglected by architectural historians.

It should be of interest to those who share such views that for several years at Colby College, Samuel Green and his Art Department have been demonstrating the value of what may be termed an enlightened regionalism: that is, an investigation and appreciation of Maine art which, though it sees the local art in relation to the older traditions and larger movements, national and international, sees also the forms and qualities which a place and a people have given it. Mr. Green has explored the remote corners of the State, has given lectures for Maine people which aroused their interest in what was theirs, and has discovered artistic personalities in paint-

ing, sculpture and building who have been scarcely more than names to most of us, sometimes not even that.

The Spring Show at Colby in 1944 brought together the painting of the professional and that of the "primitive." Winslow Homer was there, and Eastman Johnson, Marin and Waldo Peirce. But the far less familiar Jeremiah Hardy was there too, with that astonishing genre piece, *Pic-Nick in the New England Woods*. There was a charmingly "romantic" landscape which had been done on the wooden panel from a pew in an old Portland church by Charles Codman, that painter of clock faces and fire buckets whom John Neal claimed as his discovery. Among the exhibits was a superb, hard-bitten self portrait by the Reverend Jonathan Fisher, who designed and built his own house at Bluehill, filled it with his own paintings, made a clock that ran for fifty years, printed a Hebrew Bible from type he cast himself and walked the Maine roads in winter, it was said, without benefit of overcoat or flannels. Down-East carving was represented by a magnificent wooden eagle from the pilot house of a Penobscot steamer, a figurehead by Thomas Seavey of Bangor, and, for the sake of contrast, by Paul Akers' over-refined bust of Milton which Hawthorne praised in *The Marble Faun*.

As Professor Green explained in his foreword, the purpose of this small show was to stimulate interest in the artistic wealth of the state by calling attention to an indigenous tradition and at the same time making clear its relationships with the art of America and of Europe, aims which he believes consistent with each other and consistent with the purpose of a liberal arts education. He added, "it seems appropriate that the art department of a small college should, beyond its concern with the general field of art, concentrate on a regional emphasis in its exhibitions and future collections," since every New England college is within reach of collections far more inclusive than it can ever hope to have on its own campus.

It was in furtherance of the Colby experiment that a second show, devoted to Maine architecture, was opened last October. Architecture is here conceived, Mr. Green says, as something "which gives to a place its character and quality, and records and enriches the civilization of which it is a part." No mere mechanical sequence of historic styles is illustrated, but a steady growth, a rich synthesizing of the borrowed with the originated. By means of topographical views, handsomely enlarged photos, and rarely seen original builder's drawings, Maine architecture from the seventeenth century garrison house at York to the Wedding-Cake Gothic of Kennebunk some two cen-

turies later is seen—to paraphrase Channing—as the expression of a nation's mind in wood, brick and stone. By juxtaposing plates from the builders' guidebooks with structures derived from them, it was emphasized how freshly those precepts and patterns were applied by men who were craftsmen, and how much of the clipped local speech is in these churches and dwellings. There was, for instance, a photographed detail from a doorway at Head Tide which, by the time a Maine carpenter had given it his own accent, the Brothers Adam would scarcely have recognized as their own.

New personalities emerge, thanks to this exhibition, and familiar ones become better known. Among the latter are Alexander Parris, who began his career in Maine, and whose drawings for the Shepley and Preble houses in Portland were shown in photostat, as were the designs of Bulfinch for the State House at Augusta, with their hint of the Greek Revival. The work of Richard Upjohn was illustrated by his early efforts in the Gothic which preceded Trinity. From the details of the Carlton House at Wiscasset emerges the personal style of Nicolas Codd, only a little less suave than the well-known McIntire. Samuel Melcher, a carpenter whose translation of the Adamesque is highly original, is Mr. Green's discovery. One of the vivid contrasts of the show was between Colonel Benjamin Deane, architect of Bangor, and Thomas Lord, carpenter-builder of Bluehill; there were photographs and drawings to prove that the former spoke the language of the sophisticated and the correct, the latter the language of carpentry.

For the Colby student, here are reminders that he is surrounded by works of art which are a part of his native environment, to be experienced at first hand, not flattened on the printed page nor distorted on a screen; and here is a challenge to research on his own. For the larger community, here is a stimulus to interest in its meaningful past, and an incentive to preserve what that past has created before it is allowed to disappear. Maine has already recognized the importance of Colby's work by appointing Mr. Green to the State Art Commission. Projects like these can break down college-community barriers, and make town and gown partners in rediscovering the beauty and worth of their common heritage.

But there is more than state-wide significance in these regional researches. The material which comes to light in the course of the Colby projects will help all of us to understand the part which a region plays in the artistic life of the larger unit, the complex and fascinating interrelationships between the professional and the self-

made artist, between inheritance and innovation, between the European tradition and the American experience. Further acquaintance with men like Fisher and Hardy, Codd and Melcher, will make it possible for the history of American art to be re-written, no longer in terms of a few conspicuous and gifted personalities, but more nearly in its true proportions. There are countless discoveries yet to be made before we can know the great wealth of our country's artistic expression, fancy and plain, derived and invented, in great towns and in remote villages. As Mr. Barr remarked, "There is so much to be done and it is vitally important to do it well, and soon."

The Colby show will be seen also in Bangor, Portland and Brunswick, and in Massachusetts at Andover and Northampton. One can only wish that students, teachers and scholars elsewhere could have the opportunity not only to observe the manner in which this material is shown, but to share the knowledge which has already resulted from Samuel Green's researches.

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TRAINING THE EYE TO SEE

BY EDWARD W. RANNELLS

IF ART is to be properly perceived and learning result from it, what is required in teaching is visual attention: the most intensive seeing that the learner is capable of. Hence the materials and techniques employed in teaching should be limited to a few which may be regarded as basic for demonstrating that practice in seeing may be significant for the experience of art. It is the unthinking employment of a continually changing variety of materials and techniques which has too often scattered the attention and thus defeated the essential purpose of instruction in art, which should be the development of understanding and appreciation and the development of visual skills. Actually the whole of art education is predicated on seeing.

The object of attention is always the formal object. The training should make certain that the student *sees* the object. And this will require more than ordinary vision; it will require what may be called esthetic vision, as distinct from instrumental vision, where merely to name the object is enough to dispose of it. Instrumental or practical vision merely scans the object with a view to recognition or action concerning it. But in esthetic vision the object of attention is devoured, so to speak, by the eyes; it is really perceived; it is an experience thoroughly assimilated and "imaged" in the mind.

There is a form-seeking tendency in all perception, of course. The mind cannot accept the sheer multiplicity of external reality present to sight; even instrumental vision orders it for use. The piece-work of perception on a sensory level has to be transformed by mental processes into an ideal whole, a concept, or else a symbolic representation for it. Now it is in esthetic perception that this form-seeking tendency really operates constructively. Here the experience of the object is processed and worked over in the mind into a formal image which can then be materialized, *i.e.*, constructed or "created" in the form of art. The ability to create images in the mind is the first requisite for the production of material images in the media and processes of art.

Esthetic vision can be trained best, I think, in three ways: through drawing, through analysis, and through construction or design. These are essential disciplines in art.

Drawing is not only the means of transcribing appearances, it is the means of investigating the materials of sight: visual space, the placement and movement of forms in space, and the plastic character of these forms. Notice that this interpretation of drawing allows it to range all the way from free expression, where form and space are sensuously ordered, to isometric and perspective drawing where forms and space are mathematically ordered. Drawing is a discipline of seeing: it is a process that centers all attention on seeing; it is the basic procedure in the class-room. Even so, all this refers to drawing only as it functions in the representation of external objects of the attention. But it may be also the means of expressing inner experience, a process of externalization and clarification: the drawing out and shaping up in graphic terms of such objects of attention as may be said to have originated wholly in the mind, emerging from the unconscious experience of the individual without any immediate reference to the externals of vision at all. More simply, drawing is a means of graphing ideas, of putting down the image of what has been imagined, of materializing thought in visual terms; and it is of value, also, to be able to "read" these "signs" and know or sense their meaning. Drawing is the foundation on which all art processes rest; it is indispensable in art education.

Analysis of vision and of art should be taught both by verbal and graphic means. I am well aware of a tendency in educational circles to regard verbalization in teaching with scorn. Yet any teacher knows the value of question and answer in directing attention to formal relations in art. Merely to point to a Cézanne, for example, and say, "this mountain is blue-violet in color and this patch of earth is its opposite, a yellow-orange," is to cause these relations to be noticed. There is more than the mere recognition of instrumental seeing in this. Bettelheim has shown that artistic perceptions are surely involved in such comparisons.¹ Comparative analysis of elements and qualities present to sight are means to objectivity in teaching visual skills. Munro once published a questionnaire for formal analysis.² Alone it makes dull reading but, in the presence of a work of art, to ask such questions as he proposes is to provide for the systematic observation of everything relevant to the understand-

¹ See the notes on "The Midwestern College Art Conference" (C.A.J. III, 2, p. 67).

² Thomas Munro, "A Questionnaire for Picture Analysis," (in) *Great Pictures of Europe*, Introduction, pp. xxii-xxxiii. New York: Brentano's, Inc., 1930.

ing of it as a visual form: to fix the attention upon it long enough for visual analysis.

The process of analysis by verbal means should be supported and supplemented by exercises in graphic analyses also. I shall not elaborate on this method, as it is a familiar one in teaching. It can be recognized in the schematic exploration of organizational means in works of art by the use of diagrams of directional lines and planes, of volumes and tonal patterns, *e.g.*, such geometric scaffoldings of form as those indicated by Gardner.³ There are numerous textbooks on composition and design that support this concept of graphic analysis. Everyone is familiar with the method of composition in Dow.⁴ And, more recently, Klee's *Pedagogical Sketch Book* has been made available in an English version.⁵

Construction or Design is to be understood as the study of form through its actual construction in materials. I do not mean handicrafts. To make "useful" objects by hand is to copy established forms, and no proof of art. I mean, rather, the exploratory and plastic approach to a three dimensional design already familiar to many through the work of the Institute of Design in Chicago. In such an approach to art visual skills are reinforced by the parallel tactual skills developed through the sensuous experience of materials and processes in evolving and shaping new forms.

Where drawing is primarily visual, design in this sense is also, and importantly, tactual. In drawing, the source of sensation is the eye and the perception is imaged on a plane, but construction is realized in volumes and the hand is equally the source of sensation and the proof of rightness in the form evolved. This is illustrated in the hand sculptures, often called "feelies," where the forms take shape under progressive adaptations to the hand as well as the eye, evolving organically out of themselves, instead of deriving from pre-existing representational or mechanical forms, as often happens in the handicrafts and industrial arts courses.

The psychology of perception relates tactual and visual sensations in visual perception. It is vision that is emphasized, but the sense of touch reinforces the sense of sight in perception. The concept of

³ Helen Gardner, "The Analytic Approach to Art," *Art Education Today*, 1940, pp. 27-38. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1940.

⁴ Arthur W. Dow, *Composition*, 9th ed., rev. & enl. New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1919.

⁵ Paul Klee, *Pedagogical Sketch Book*, Trans. by Sibyl Peech. New York: Nierendorf Gallery, 1944.

"tactile imagination" in the visual experience of art was forcibly stated many years ago by Berenson.⁶ But in these hand sculptures we can confirm all this for ourselves in a sensuous experience of materials and forms where the sense of touch and sense of sight can be coordinate and interchangeable, and this means that there will be an added sense of tactual values in drawing and analysis, also. In short, the eye is prepared to see plastically.

It is not intended that these three essential disciplines for seeing shall be taught as courses by themselves. They are merely *intensive* means of study that may have *extensive* application in the regular divisions of study. It is only to emphasize the fact that the training of visual skills is the first responsibility of art education. All other goals depend upon it. Visual skills are as necessary in the study of art as mathematical skills in the study of physics. And like any other skill, the training of vision requires the discipline of planned and systematic work.

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⁶ Bernhard Berenson, *The Florentine Painters of the Renaissance*, pp. 3-12. New York & London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1909.

STREETS

BY WALTER F. ISAACS

I HAD occasion recently to revisit Chicago, and came away with an impression which I had received again and again in the past and this time the experience was intensified.

The aspect of Chicago which interested me was not that which is featured by Carl Sandburg in his poem *The People Yes* in which he refers to this particular City as "Hog Butcher" and "Stacker of Wheat." I had seen this phase of the City, that is, the hog butchering, not the wheat stacking (wheat is not stacked in the city, but in the country); but since I looked at the City with a primary interest in painting, I had not been inclined to take the social view. Not that a painter cannot or should not see from the social angle but that that type of sentiment is likely to have been entertained in the arm chair in advance rather than when facing the scene. Some sort of human reference exists of course in the back of the painter's head, be he ever so non-social, but it is likely to be a vague feeling rather than a specific concept.

So I found myself looking north down the long vista of Michigan Boulevard, not far from Twelfth Street, conscious of the vertical wall of façades on my left as they stood at right angles with the flat expanse of the lake front. I was conscious of the spread of space all around me and through me, conscious also of the atmosphere, the temperature, wind and weather, and some kind of life which permeated all of it.

From this particular vantage point one cannot escape a feeling of expansiveness, an exhilarating lift that is not encountered in just any American city, or in just any part of Chicago. What makes this? It isn't just the size of things. It isn't the wind. Not the blueness of the Lake. It is not in the things that one sees, but rather in the relationship to one another in which things stand.

The particular disposition of forms and spaces that we know as Michigan Boulevard with its waterfront merits special reference. I hazard the assertion that it is the most striking metropolitan phenomenon in America and one of the finest in the world. When I say *one* of the finest, I reserve first place for another.

There is only one street which I have heard seriously called the most beautiful in the world. It is not Unter den Linden nor the Champs Elysées, nor any one of a dozen other famous ones. It is

Prince's Street in Edinburgh. Certainly no one could be there without feeling at least some agreement with the Scottish people who have thus classified it. Probably it is the most *béautifil*.

First, it is a one-sided street, and that gives it 100% advantage over all two-sided streets if other things are equal. It has twice as much variety to start with. On the north side are the city buildings, with the usual uniformity in height and style of European architecture; on the south the terrain falls away with a graceful slope into a magnificent park with gardening such as only centuries can produce. The garden extends across the valley and disappears in a forest which in turn begins to climb the elevation opposite. Across the valley this mountainous ridge is seen through a haze and along the backbone of the eminence stand a number of historic castles "old in story." The Walter Scott monument, a tall Gothic structure, is effectively placed in the valley along with some works of sculpture.

The street is a business thoroughfare with traffic, fairly dense, moving with a steady and informal flow, without haste, confusion, or interruption, and never too noisy. Let me repeat, it is a business street, replete with human interest, not an empty boulevard for pleasure cars hurrying to be somewhere else as is true of Riverside Drive. Moreover, Riverside Drive, for all its unilateralness, and grand as the natural scenery is, falls away to the Hudson River with an interval that is too great ever to be anything but empty, or to form any kind of transition that would make for continuity, and, worst of all, the forbidding succession of plutocratic apartment houses with their overweening repetition of windows, are without the rich flow of humanity that streams down Prince's Street from morning till night.

In Chicago, as one nears the Art Institute, one has something of the same feeling that is aroused by being on Prince's Street. Here are people engaged in business as usual in a setting of great natural beauty and art. In its own American way the traffic roars down the street, on one side the people move in and out of the shops or loiter at the display windows, while across the way strollers pass or enter the doors of the Art Gallery, a short distance from the Lake.

Grant Park is not exactly comparable to the gardens in Prince's Street, but, taken altogether, the two situations have points in common which city planners might do well to consider.

*University of Washington
Seattle*

SHAEF AND THE PROTECTION OF MONUMENTS IN NORTHWEST EUROPE

BY MARVIN C. ROSS

ON MAY 26, 1944 General Eisenhower as Supreme Commander at the Supreme Headquarters Allied Expeditionary Force (SHAEF) signed a letter addressed to his generals saying that northwest Europe which we were about to invade was filled with monuments of cultural importance to the whole world. It was, he stated, the policy of the Allied governments to protect those monuments from damage or destruction insofar as operations would permit, bearing in mind always that we must not run unnecessary risk to the lives of our own men. In writing this letter General Eisenhower made possible the carrying out of the policy of the Allied governments within the armed forces under his command. Once this letter had been signed, it only remained to have the officers at the proper military levels to carry out the staff and operational work in order to put the policy into execution.

The Monuments, Fine Arts and Archives staff set-up for the planning and other executive work to be done in connection with the implementation of the Supreme Commander's policy was a section forming part of the G-5 Division of SHAEF. Since SHAEF was a combined operation there were two officers, an adviser who was British and an American as his deputy (the nationalities were the reverse in Italy). This was the central organization for all the planning concerning the protection of cultural monuments during the operation in northwest Europe. It was the first time in history that such an organization was set up at the highest headquarters at the beginning of an operation and continued through all its phases until the end.

In order to carry out the work in the various military areas, Monuments, Fine Arts and Archives (MFA&A) officers were assigned to the headquarters of the Army Groups, Armies, Communication Zone and the Base Sections under ComZone. The MFA&A officers at Army Group and ComZone were staff officers and had the task of coordinating the work at Army and Base Section level, respectively, under them. They were furthermore the link between the central planning organization at SHAEF and the operations

officers in the field at Army and Base Section Headquarters. The MFA&A officers at Army and Base Section Headquarters had the task of seeing that the policy of SHAEF for the protection of cultural monuments was actually carried out in the field within the respective commands to whose headquarters they were attached.

Lastly, MFA&A officers were part of the staffs of the several SHAEF missions to the liberated countries of northwest Europe. It was the task of these officers to be the liaison officers between the Beaux-Arts officials of the various governments and the central organization at SHAEF. They also had the task of collecting information as to the art activities of the Germans during the years of occupation in the respective countries.

The MFA&A officers needed, in addition to the Supreme Commander's letter, more detailed authority for operating and accomplishing their work. This was done by issuing for the countries of northwest Europe, directives signed by the Supreme Commander or his Chief of Staff saying that the buildings and monuments on the SHAEF list of protected monuments for each country were to receive all protection possible consistent with operational needs and were to be used only if operations absolutely necessitated. In addition the MFA&A officers were supplied with longer supplementary lists of monuments to receive consideration. These directives were issued by SHAEF to Army Groups and ComZone, being in turn reissued to Armies and Base Sections. They were the actual immediate authority under which the MFA&A officers operated and carried out their duties in regard to protecting the cultural monuments which came within their territories.

These directives were followed by instructions and orders of many kinds to suit different circumstances as they arose. A list of the art repositories which reached London from the underground movement in France was supplied to the Air Force and to the lower echelons of the Ground Forces. Special lists of chateaux which should not be used unless necessary, and if used to be given special care, were issued in the areas where troops were concentrated and the billeting needs were great. Also special orders were issued when requests were received from the liberated governments for the care of particular monuments which might be of concern to them.

SHAEF issued civil affairs handbooks for all the liberated countries of northwest Europe and a military government handbook of Germany. These handbooks were for the general use of all civil affairs/military government officers. Each had a chapter devoted to

Monuments, Fine Arts and Archives with instructions for simple measures to be taken in the protection of cultural monuments and other material.

A set of technical instructions was prepared at SHAEF for the guidance of MFA&A officers with more detailed precautions to be taken. This was supplemented by other material such as a "Summary of French Archives," a paper on "French MFA&A Personnel," "List of French Provincial Museums" and their contents, "Some Terms Relative to Building" (French and English, German and English), and an account of the important chateaux in northwest France. Similar material was compiled and issued for the other liberated countries. All this was for the help and guidance of the MFA&A officers in the field, in the complicated tasks which they had to perform.

Germany required considerable planning of a special nature because of the entirely different problems involved. The list of protected monuments was supplemented by a list of archives in Germany, the latter being important for the future governing of the country after operations ceased—archives were no separate problem in liberated countries since they were of no interest to the armed forces. White and black lists of German MFA&A personnel were prepared for the guidance of our own officers in finding non-Nazis to be put in charge of the museums, a problem which had been taken care of by the indigenous governments in liberated countries. A report on the state of the listed monuments in Germany was prepared from aerial photographs so that the MFA&A officers would have some guidance as to the conditions in which they would find the monuments as a town was captured. The export of all works of art during the SHAEF period had to be forbidden due to the problem of looted works of art from occupied territories, since these could not be properly identified and returned during the operational phase. Finally lists of repositories prepared from intelligence sources were made up as guidance to the officers who could then be prepared to have them guarded, as the territory in which they were located was taken.

This short account is intended to show how the matter of the protection of cultural material was woven completely into the armed forces operating under SHAEF. The task was a complex one but only by interweaving it completely into the armed forces could it become an integral part of the army and function effectively during an operation. A vast amount of work was done in the effort to

conserve as much as possible of the cultural wealth of Europe during the general destruction that must inevitably go on in any war.

Among the American MFA&A officers serving in northwest Europe were: Lt. George Stout (Twelfth Army Group), Capt. Robert Posey (Third U. S. Army), Capt. Walker Hancock (First U. S. Army), Capt. Lesley Parker (Fifteenth U. S. Army), Capt. Bancel Lafarge (Second British Army), Capt. Walter Huchthausen (Ninth U. S. Army—killed in the line of duty, April 2, 1945), Capt. Ralph Hammett (ComZone), Lt. James Rorimer (Seine Base Section), Lt. Roger Clarke (Oise Base Section), Lt. D. Kern (Advanced Section), and Major Stratton Hammon (Advanced Section).

The Walters Art Gallery
Baltimore, Md.

COMZONE AND THE PROTECTION OF MONUMENTS IN NORTH- WEST EUROPE

BY RALPH W. HAMMETT

THE vast area behind the combat zone of the European Theatre of Operations, U. S. Army (ETOUSA), was designated as the communications zone. This area embraced practically all of France, southern Belgium and Luxemburg. It omitted only a portion of southwestern France and a strip along the northern coast which was controlled by the British. The preservation of monuments, fine arts and archives in this area was under G-5 section, Communications Zone Headquarters, which also had the task of supervising local government and the civilian population. Brigadier General C. P. Stearns was in command of G-5 section, and the author served under him as Monuments, Fine Arts and Archives specialist officer. It was an endeavor which loomed particularly large in France whose artistic wealth is beyond all estimate.

In general our work consisted of: (1) protecting monuments, (2) recording war damage, (3) supervising the billeting of troops. As the combat zone moved forward, Advance Section of ComZone took over a temporary area. The MFA&A specialist officer of that base section then further checked the damage to historical buildings, fine arts and libraries. Contacts were made with owners and French government officials in charge of the various monuments. Instructions were given as to the joint responsibility of the military and the French administration. Ostensibly the local authority continued its control, but our military had the right to take over and use any building, no matter how important, if military necessity demanded.

In the field of fine arts and historical monuments, France is well organized and at no time during German occupation did she lose control of them. Soon after Munich she started moving her valuable collections to various depositories where everything was packed, listed, and kept under constant guard. These depositories were scattered all over western and southern France, and were for the most part large out-of-the-way chateaux. Their contents included the best from national and municipal collections, the finest stain glass from churches and cathedrals, valuable archives and a few of the

best private collections. During the occupation the Germans were aware of most of these depositories and regularly inspected many of them. With a few exceptions, they did not attempt to disturb collections owned by the government, as they controlled the government and believed that after the war they could do as they wished with these prizes. For that reason the works of the Louvre fared very well, although M. Jacques Jaujard, director of the national museums, kept much information secret, and it is due to him that some of the great masterpieces were not "lent" to Berlin. During the occupation the Germans made several attempts to have exhibitions set up, even requesting that some of the works be brought out of hiding, but M. Jaujard put them off with one excuse or another so that very little was disturbed.

On the other hand, private collections that were not hidden away did not do so well. The Germans confiscated Jewish properties from the very start. Chateaux and fine residences were plundered ruthlessly and millions of dollars worth of furnishings, paintings, sculpture, books and silverware were exported into Germany. A clearing house was set up in the Jeu de Paume Museum in Paris where inventories of these collections were kept, and the finest works displayed for sale. Goering visited this changing display no less than thirteen times in order to buy masterpieces for himself and Hitler. Art dealers attended auctions here once a week where art works were sold to collaborators or to underworld fences who exported them to all parts of the world via Switzerland, Spain and Portugal. The looting of chateaux and fine residences in France and Belgium became one of the big businesses of the German occupation. Looting was by no means limited to Jewish property. A steady caravan of trucks and freight cars loaded with fine furnishings, works of art and household goods passed over the German border everyday.

After liberation, particularly during the cold spell of last winter, there was great temptation for U. S. troops and service forces to take over chateaux for billeting purposes. In general there was no great objection to such uses. The officer in charge was responsible for the action of his men, and it was the task of billeting officers with the guidance of MFA&A specialists to caution the occupants against damage to property of artistic value. Occasionally officers were found who were unwilling to take the responsibility for protection of valuable works of art; these were forced to move on. Sometimes our soldiers were not warned of the value of their surroundings in time; and in spite of directives and orders, they often installed themselves

first and consulted afterwards. In one instance a field kitchen was set up on the ground floor of a pavilion whose upper story housed one of the most valuable private libraries of France. In another part of the same chateau a chapel was stored with furnishings, tapestries and objets d'art. A gasoline dump had been set up near the chateau, but on advice from the MFA&A officer, it was quickly moved. Many of the famous chateaux were placed out of bounds, although in some instances the caretakers objected to displaying such signs for fear attention might be drawn to valuable contents which were better kept secret.

ComZone was supplied with lists of most of the historical buildings in Europe which amounted to a veritable Baedeker, compiled by Harvard University and edited by SHAEF. The MFA&A officers worked with these lists, checked all objects in their territories, and reported their findings through their Commanding Officers to Communications Zone Headquarters. If necessary, disciplinary action could be instituted by these officers in the name of the Commanding General and police power exerted through the Provost Marshal. However, very few extreme cases occurred. The French were very cooperative and not infrequently French owners invited American military units to occupy their chateaux. In a few instances these units abused their privileges, though in general amicable conditions existed. There were charges of thievery, abuse of architecture and furnishings, abuse of lawns, gardens, and orchards, prodigal dissipation of coal and wood, and even the use of fire in rooms without provision for heating. Seven fires were reported in chateaux during the cold spell of December and January of a year ago; five of them caused almost total loss. Under international law any damage done by U. S. troops after combat was chargeable to our army, and it was part of our job to keep these bills to a minimum.

There were many situations that kept life from becoming dull. It was a MFA&A officer, Lt. James J. Rorimer, who was the first to enter the Luxemburg Palace in Paris and who found the Senate wing loaded with mines and booby traps. A novel problem was created by the discovery of a most valuable collection of French impressionist paintings in a residence occupied by one of our units. The collection was valued in the millions but, in order to escape taxes, the owner had never declared his paintings and would not allow them to be reported. In another case a portrait valued at \$30,000 was draped with a sheet and used as a movie screen. In one of the famous chateaux a USO show set its stage in the courtyard and took over

the adjoining pavilion for the actors' dressing rooms, much to the alarm of the MFA&A officer who knew that the same pavilion was being secretly used for the storage of priceless historical furnishings from the Louis XIV and XV periods. Certain French owners presented exaggerated claims as to the historical and artistic value of their possessions. But not all the difficulty came from the French. Our own brass hats gave us some embarrassing problems. Twice, high ranking officers attempted to take over Fontainebleau, and in another instance a high headquarters group wanted to hold a dance in the Hall of Mirrors at Versailles. The MFA&A officers needed not only connoisseurship, but also tact and diplomacy.

Each MFA&A officer in the field was equipped with a small format camera and given the status of official photographer. His reports were supplemented with photographic records and sent forward in duplicate, one to ComZone Headquarters, the other to SHAEF. Generally this record showed the damage done in combat or by the Germans prior to our occupancy, and it should be of value in case of future controversy.

A card catalog was set up at G-5 section, ComZone, by the author. This catalog was arranged by department, town, and city and listed each monument, art collection, chateau and library. As reports came in, they were dated and indexed as to file number for ready reference. By this means, eighteen separate lists of monuments and fine arts distributed by SHAEF were brought together in one geographical and alphabetical card catalog. Whenever information was requested on any monument, ComZone Headquarters, G-5 section, knew immediately if it had received a report on the monument, the date that the report was made and received, and by referring to the indexed file, what comments the MFA&A officer had made about it. This card catalog and file will eventually be among the archives of the War Department in Washington as part of the history of the war. Although partially compiled in Normandy under field conditions and therefore not a model of catalog procedure, it nevertheless fulfilled a great mission and will undoubtedly be the source of much future information on war damage to European monuments.

University of Michigan

PROTECTION OF CULTURAL MATERIALS DURING COMBAT

BY ROBERT K. POSEY

AS THE great Allied Expeditionary Force stood poised in southern England awaiting the signal that would start an invasion of Hitler's Europe, a part of the final directive by the Supreme Commander established the basic policy for the protection of "cultural centers which symbolize to the world all that we are fighting to preserve." Broadly, and in brief, it called for the fighting forces to take all measures, consistent with military necessity, to avoid damage to all structures, objects or documents of cultural, artistic, archaeological or historical value; and to assist wherever practicable, in securing them from deterioration resulting from the process of war. For the purpose of assisting in performing this highly specialized function a Monuments Specialist Officer was attached to the staff of each Army Commander. Generally, this officer had been an art historian or architect in civilian life but was now a trained soldier. Due to the fact that he must work with fighting troops in the zone of combat military training was imperative.

At the very beginning of the battle of Normandy it was evident that almost the entire function, both on the staff and in field operations, would become the responsibility of the Monuments Officer. Fortunately, from that time until the close of the war in Austria and Czechoslovakia, no tactical commander in the Third Army showed impatience with this refinement of war. But none had either the time or specific knowledge required for it. Because of the nature of tactical training and the taxing requirements of combat the commanders could be expected to be primarily interested in killing the enemy and in the welfare of their own men. Salvage of cultural things, for an entire Army area, had to be guided by one team: the author and Lincoln Kirstein of New York. It would be necessary to impress cannon company commanders with the fact that cathedral towers should not be used as observation posts because of the probability of drawing enemy fire. Billeting in chateaux that were historical monuments must be tactfully forbidden. It must be explained to sergeants in charge of bull-dozer squads that irreplaceable

fragments could be easily covered over in ordinary rubble and lost for all time in the sub-base of a military roadway. The location of repositories of movable works of art must be known in advance of the fighting. These places must be guarded after liberation or capture as the case may be.

Liberated France, Belgium and Luxembourg presented a comparatively simplified problem, for responsible art historians were always found standing firm at repository sites. However, Germany was expected to be radically different. Most of her cities were destroyed and deserted. The locations of her cultural treasures remained military information known only to a few high Nazi officials. Perhaps Allied soldiers would be inclined to be less careful of enemy owned buildings and objects. There might be a tendency to consider looting justified. The fighter knew little of the policy for protection of cultural materials; nor did he know what or where they were. A successful plan of action must, therefore, be one in which every member of the Army had an interest but which called for a minimum of military effort. A relentless drive across northern France had left little time for planning but by the time spearheads reached Lorraine and American troops had liberated the beautiful capital of Nancy a great many soldiers were keenly awake to the historical interest of towns and villages in the path of the Army. This natural curiosity could be turned into an educated interest of great potential aid to the Monuments program. As a help in bringing this about a short letter of historical notes on Nancy was written and circulated among the troops. Since this first one was widely read and commented upon, another was written at Metz and again at the city of Luxembourg. Each new one became more in demand. When the Army launched its drive through the Siegfried Line on January 29, 1945, such notes were expected on Germany too, for it was expected that her cities would be of cultural interest.

With the murderous West Wall forts silenced and a stunned Wehrmacht falling back, the lovely Moselle valley lay before the invaders. The fresh greenness of early spring softened the harsh spectacle of smashed villages. Trier, at first, seemed to be only a mass of smouldering ruins; but perhaps the beauty of her ancient architecture could be pointed out. Toward this end we wrote:

Trier, on the Moselle river, heart of some of the richest vineyards in the world, is the oldest city in Germany, possibly in Western Europe. A famous Roman inscription reads: "Trier stood one thousand three hundred years before Rome; may it continue to stand and enjoy eternal peace."

Trier has known centuries of relentless war. We see it now in perhaps the worst condition it has been since the middle ages, but in spite of the present damage, the town exists as a treasure house of Roman, early Christian, Gothic and Baroque architecture.

The Roman city of *Augusta Trevirorum* (The Emperor Augustus' Town of the Teutonic tribe of the Treveri) was founded on an ancient tribal encampment, as an Imperial military base, about twenty years before the birth of Christ. Through the ages, Trier has been known as a garrison town.

In 260 A.D., the town was completely destroyed by the Alemani, the most powerful of the native German tribes, but was shortly reconquered by the Legions, and entirely rebuilt, on a roughly rectangular plan, with very massive masonry fortifications. The North, or Black Gate (*Porta Nigra*) dates from the great walls undertaken in the reign of the emperor Constantine.

Outside of Italy, perhaps the most important Roman remains in Europe are to be found at Trier. These include two large bathing establishments, a large amphitheatre for games, the base-walls of the Cathedral, the walls of the Basilica, the base of the town walls, the basalt piers of the bridge across the Moselle, and *Porta Nigra*.

Around 450 A.D., the Franks, and other ferocious ancestors of the modern *Wehrmacht*, overran the Western Roman Empire, and set up their own, which they ruled from the Imperial ruins of the temples and baths of Trier.

During the Middle Ages, Trier was a very important seat of Christian ecclesiastical authority, with influence extending into Lorraine, Luxembourg and Belgium. The Bishops of Trier were among those who elected the so-called Holy Roman Emperor, who was actually the chief of the Germanic central-European confederation which at various times included the German principalities, Austria, Bohemia, Spain, the Netherlands and northern Italy.

In 1473, Charles the Bold of Burgundy, and the German Friederich III met in Trier, concerning the proposed marriage of their children Maria and Maximilian, from whose union descended the house of Hapsburg and the inheritance of Austria, Bohemia, the Netherlands and Latin America.

The great Cathedral (*Dom*), largely a Romanesque and early Gothic edifice on Roman foundations, is magnificently decorated by a series of altar-tombs of the great Archbishops of Trier, many of the finest being carved by Hans Rupprecht Hoffman, in the late 16th century. Part of the precious treasure of the *Dom* includes the Seamless Cloak, which the Roman soldiers stripped from Christ at his Crucifixion.

Trier became a frontier city in the Thirty Years Wars. The French have always called it *Trèves*, after the original Germanic tribe. Through the reign of Louis XIV, it suffered repeated conquest and sack. It was occupied by the armies of the French Revolution in 1794, by Napoleon in 1814, and by the Allies in 1918-19.

About 1935, the Third Reich, together with interested citizens of Trier and the association of wine-merchants, began systematically to restore Trier as a great German historical monument. They spent a very large sum of

money on the Market Place, now largely demolished, and in the Simeonstrasse, making it into a complete "Street of German History." It commenced with the earliest structure, the Porta Nigra, which had been used as a Christian church from the early Middle Ages, and was only transformed to its present fairly original state in the early nineteenth century.

Perhaps the most serious recent damage is to the façade of the Dom, the Liebfrauenkirche next to it, the connecting cloister, the fine baroque Palace of the Counts of Kessel, the Archbishop's Residence, and the roof of the restored early Christian Basilica, recently a protestant church.

Particularly fine is the Paulinerkirche, a five minute walk towards Porta Nigra, on the left-hand side of the street, from this Headquarters. It is the finest example of the late baroque or rococo in Western Germany and was built in 1740. It was slightly damaged in combat, by an aerial bomb, but is virtually perfect. Very remarkable are the high proportions, the amazingly rich stuccoed ceiling, the fine organ loft, and the choir with its bronze-gilt grille.

On the outskirts of town, the Abbey Church of St. Matthew is a very beautiful early Gothic complex of buildings with later additions. It has no war damage.

It is interesting to note that Karl Marx, upon whose social and economic theory, the present Russian state was founded, was born in Trier. His house, formerly an important deposit of Marxian documents and archives was turned into a Nazi newspaper office. It was destroyed in aerial bombardment.

The Cathedral Treasure, the Fountain of St. Peter from the Market Place, the Market Cross, the town archives and libraries, the principal Roman objects from the destroyed Provincial Museum are safely stored in nearby caves and specially constructed bunkers.

Through Military Government, native cultural advisers to the civil government were appointed. We had questioned native and stay-behind occupational officials in Alsace, Lorraine and Luxembourg about the behavior of Rhineprovinz art scholars. This group was ordered to salvage fragments, barricade damaged walls, make temporary repairs wherever possible, gather scattered documents, open secret passages to bunkers containing movable works of art and advise upon necessary emergency care. In brief, except for military guards, it would do all work and do it in strict accordance with the wishes of Military Government. This commission of five began work in Trier two days after capture of the city. Only one incident marred its eager efficiency; one appointee, Dr. Wilhelm von Massow, Curator of the Landesmuseum, was found to have been a party member in good standing. He was promptly dismissed.

Information was received that another Nazi, an important one, was hiding in the nearby hills. As it later developed this was a former art scholar and indeed the key to the entire German puzzle. He had

commanded a company in the first Ardennes breakthrough and during the occupation was second in command of the bureau "für Kuntschutz und Kultur" in Paris. He had worked with Goering and fought Alfred Rosenberg's organization for the "protection" of cultural materials. With campaign maps spread before us, all of the important repositories in Germany were marked and marginal notes of contents made. Here we learned that the Reichsmarschall had moved his extensive takings from Karinhall to Veltenstein and that he would later take them to his hunting lodge at Berchtesgaden. We could expect to find Rothschild materials at Schloss Neuschwanstein. The Mystic Lamb would be among Hitler's takings in a salt mine at Alt Aussee, Austria, but bombs were already set for complete demolition upon our arrival. For future use, a list of art historians, with degree of party affiliation, was made for every important town in southern Germany.

Action taken at Trier served as a model for many German cities. Variations were necessary to meet new conditions but the plan remained basically the same. As fresh information was gathered along the route it was sent back to Army Group Headquarters so that it could be forwarded to other armies. News that the Metz Cathedral Treasure had been taken to Siegen resulted in its being found intact by another army. For the first time in the history of America at war a sincere effort was made to protect objects of cultural value during actual combat. However, we were too few and the work too great for the achievement of more than partial success. Many fine buildings had been hit. They were given whatever first-aid was possible in total war. Great paintings had been hidden in caves for years. They were quickly cared for by experts put into the armed forces for that purpose. Yet much was lost, in spite of all efforts made.

New York, N.Y.

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NEWS REPORTS

METROPOLITAN LENDS TO SPRINGFIELD

A representative collection covering the arts of Europe from the Middle Ages to the early nineteenth century has been lent by The Metropolitan Museum of Art to the Museum of Fine Arts of Springfield, Mass. Springfield will keep the Metropolitan's loan of one-hundred-and-one objects for five years.

The loan includes thirty pictures of the great schools of Italian primitive and renaissance painting, and of later Dutch, French and English schools, with Lorenzetti, Cima, Taddeo di Bartolo, Borgognone, Cornelis de Vos, Boucher, Reynolds and Raeburn represented among others. French and Flemish tapestries, as well as material from all over Europe including ivories, enamels, stained glass panels, architectural details, objects of decorative art and suits of armor have also been included.

Frederick B. Robinson, Director of the Museum of Fine Arts of Springfield, and John Goldsmith Phillips, the Metropolitan's Associate Curator of Renaissance and Modern Art, chose objects for the loan, which supplements the collections at the Springfield museum.

This is one of the largest such long-term loans of high-quality material that any American museum has ever made to another and is concrete evidence of the Metropolitan's newly emphasized policy of spreading the vast wealth of its collections, which cannot all be shown at one time in its own building, through the country, thus giving people of other cities an opportunity to enjoy works of art they might not otherwise see. "The Trustees have recognized that the museum can render a great national service by making available objects which have hitherto remained in storage," said Francis Henry Taylor, Director of the Metropolitan.

The Metropolitan now has over 14,000 objects of art on loan for an indefinite period to other museums throughout the country. Objects of very best quality are kept in the Museum's New York building. Loans are made from the Metropolitan's enormous stock of duplicate material and of works of considerable importance which the Museum is unable to show at all times. This hidden treasure has become a source of great enrichment to other museums.

NEWS FROM CRANBROOK

The Museum of the Cranbrook Academy of Art, Bloomfield Hills, Michigan, marks the beginning of its third year in the new museum building with the presentation of two new galleries filled with recent acquisitions, and with a staff which begins its first year of work in the Museum and the Museum Library.

After service in the Army of the United States and after heading the Art Department at Michigan State College, Albert Christ-Janer assumes the directorship of the museum and museum library at Cranbrook Academy of Art. Mr. Christ-Janer has recently completed work on his new book, *The Life and Work of Boardman Robinson*, which will be published and released this winter by the University of Chicago Press.

Coming to Cranbrook from her position as Acting Director and Curator of Person Hall Art Gallery, at the University of North Carolina, Miss Harriet Dyer Adams has been appointed Curator of the Cranbrook Academy of Art Museum. Miss Adams will lecture in the galleries and teach an introductory course in the history of art.

From the University of Nebraska Library and from the Library of Michigan State College, Miss Elizabeth Reuter assumes her new position as librarian of the museum library. Miss Reuter is a graduate of the Illinois University Library School.

Miss Marta Larsson, in charge of minor arts, is completing the catalogue of the museum's large collection of textiles.

The Museum collection has been enriched during the past few months with the addition of the following paintings and drawings: Stuart Davis, *Landscape in the Color of a Pear*; Tomlin, *Music Rack*; Menkes, *Still Life*; Doris Lee, *Fisherman's Wife*; Dong Kingman, *Empire State Building*; Max Weber, *Near the Sea*; Feininger, *Church in Winter*; Feininger drawings, *Westward Bound* and *Morning*, Cadmus drawings of two nudes.

NEW QUARTERS FOR INSTITUTE OF DESIGN

The new semester of The Institute of Design commences on February 4, 1946. The Institute's headquarters at 1009 North State Street, Chicago 10, Illinois, has been teeming with activity since the school moved to these new quarters in the late summer, where much remodeling has been going on. Many war veterans are taking advantage of the courses offered by the Institute, especially those in Industrial Design, Advertising Arts, Photography and the color and analysis of motion pictures.

LATROBE DRAWINGS TO LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Three bound volumes containing original architectural designs by Benjamin Henry Latrobe (1764-1820), early American architect and engineer, have been presented to the Library of Congress by Capt. William Claiborne Latrobe, USN, son of the late Col. Osmun Latrobe and great-great-grandson of the architect.

The three volumes are as follows: (1) Designs of a building proposed to be erected at Richmond in Virginia to contain a theatre, assembly-rooms, and a hotel. Begun December 2, 1797 finished January 8, 1798. (2) Designs of buildings erected or proposed to be built in Virginia from 1795 to 1799.

Richmond, 1798. (3) Design of a City Hall proposed to be built in New York. Philadelphia, 1802.

Original designs by Benjamin Latrobe are not only rare, but widely scattered. Those already in the possession of the Library include designs for the Bank of Philadelphia, the Capitol and White House, and a number of sketches for a military academy. With the gift of these three volumes which contain over 70 drawings, the Library of Congress group becomes the largest to be found in any public collection.

NEW VOLUME OF ANNUAL

The growth of art museums and galleries, art associations and schools throughout America in the last half century from 450 to 2,113 is reported in the new volume of the *American Art Annual* just published by The American Federation of Art, Washington. The current volume, edited by Florence N. Levy, who founded the *Annual* in 1898, has been completed with the cooperation of an Editorial Board of Regional and State Advisors.

The list price of the volume is \$12; libraries \$10. Orders may be placed directly with the American Federation of Arts, Barr Building, Washington 6, D.C.

MIDWESTERN CONFERENCE

The annual meeting of the Midwestern College Art Conference was held at Northwestern University and the Art Institute of Chicago on November 2 and 3, 1945, under the presidency of G. Haydn Huntley. J. Carson Webster of Northwestern University, secretary of the Conference and host of this meeting, had assembled a large and representative exhibition of the paintings of Junius R. Sloan (1827-1900) for the occasion.

The program emphasized the possibilities and methods of research in regional art with a view to awakening more active interest in this field. Papers presented Friday afternoon and evening were: "Junius R. Sloan, a Forgotten Chicago Painter" by J. Carson Webster of Northwestern University; "On Regional Architecture" (published in this issue of the JOURNAL) by Rexford Newcomb of the University of Illinois; "Art in Middletown" (to be published *in extenso*) by Laurence Schmeckebier of the University of Minnesota; "Regional Art and the Museum" by Meyric R. Rogers of the Art Institute of Chicago; and "Art and History" (to be published in the JOURNAL) by Avery O. Craven, Professor of American History, University of Chicago. There followed a period of lively discussion on the possibility of raising the general level of taste. Several methods for accomplishing this end were proposed.

At the Saturday morning session, Thomas H. Hamilton read a paper written by Wilbur D. Peat of the John Herron Art Institute on "Early Indiana Painters" (published in this issue of the JOURNAL). During the business meeting committees made reports on the questions of membership and the nature of the activities of the Conference to be pursued in the

future. The Membership Committee was authorized to prepare a set of By-Laws. The Committee on the Future Role of the Conference was reconstituted as a Program Committee. A Committee on Loan Exhibitions was appointed.

The new officers elected are: President, Henry R. Hope; Vice President, J. Carson Webster; Secretary-Treasurer, Marjorie Logan. The 1946 meeting will be held at Indiana University.

EXHIBITION OPENS IN VIENNA

Since December 15, 1945 the Viennese have again been able to view some of their masterpieces of art thanks to the American Army and to the Subcommission for Monuments, Fine Arts and Archives in particular. Lt. Com. Perry Cott of the Subcommission was placed in charge of arranging the exhibition and had as his assistants Lt. Fred Hartt, also of the Subcommission and Hofrat Prof. Dr. Alfred Stix, the reinstated Director of the Vienna Art Collections. At first the plan was to exhibit only the art captured from the Germans at St. Johann in Pongau in the Tyrol by a detachment commanded by Capt. Calvin Hathaway. It consisted of 7 boxes of paintings, 39 sacks of tapestries, 2 boxes of sculpture and 29 pictures. These were the works that on May 3, 1945, Baldur von Schirach, Gauleiter of Austria and his art advisors had ordered to be taken from the depository at Lauffen where the contents of the Vienna museums had been stored. Among the paintings were 7 works by Brueghel—*Peasant Festival*, *Building the Tower of Babel*, *Lenten Games*, *Return of the Herd*, *Storm at Sea*, *Bird Thief*, and *Conversion of St. Paul*; 6 Velasquezes; 7 Titians—*Madonna of the Cherries*, *The Gypsy Madonna*, and *Portrait of Jacopo della Strada*; Rembrandt's *Titus Reading*, and two self-portraits; Dürer's *All Saints* and *Emperor Maximilian*. At first the plan was to exhibit only the works captured, but after Lt. Col. Ernest T. DeWald, Chief of the Arts and Monuments Division of the USFA conferred with Hofrat Prof. Dr. Alfred Stix, it was decided to bring back more paintings from the depository at Lauffen and hold a larger exhibition in the Hofburg. Gen. Mark W. Clark was much interested in and encouraged the project. Among the masterpieces returned from Lauffen by the Army which took great care in transporting them were: Giorgione's *Three Philosophers*; Raphael's *Madonna in Green*; Correggio's *Io*; Rubens' sketches for the altarpieces of St. Francis Xavier and Ignatius of Loyola; Holbein's *Jane Seymour*; Brueghel's *Children's Games* and *Winter Scenes*; De Hooch's, *An Interior*; and Vermeer's, *Man Reading*.

WHERE TO FIND LANTERN SLIDES

American Council on Education, 744 Jackson Place, Washington 6, D.C.

Thirty-three Filmslide (2" x 2") units in color dealing with the Latin American cultures. Several are on architecture, painting, or industrial arts. Available for rental or purchase. Folder on request.

Art Education, Inc. (Brown Robertson), 6 East 34th Street, New York 16, N.Y.

2" x 2" kodachrome slides made from color prints, cardboard mounted, 50¢ each. Slide catalog 15¢.

American Library of Color Slides, 222 West 23rd Street, New York 11, N.Y.

Selection of about 2,000 color slides of painting from contemporary works (direct photographs) and old masters (from color prints). 2" x 2" at \$1.10 each, standard size at \$2.00 each. Lists on request.

Art Institute, Chicago, Ill.

Black and white standard size slides of objects in the museum collections at 50¢.

Lending collection of 35,000 standard size slides of which about 2,500 are in color.

Beseler Lantern Slide Co., 131 East 23rd Street, New York 10, N.Y.

Collections on art. Black and white standard size at 50¢. Color slides \$1.50. Ten percent discount on first order of 100 and all subsequent orders. Catalog on request.

Block, Dr., Color Productions, 1414 No. Fuller Avenue, Hollywood 46, Calif.

2" x 2" kodachrome sets of "Modern Architecture," "Modern Ceramic Arts," and "Revelation of Beauty in Nature." Price 90¢ per slide in cardboard mounts, minimum 25 slides, less than 25 @ \$1.00 each. Lists on request.

Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland, Ohio.

Can make on order black and white 3 1/4" x 4" lantern slides for 75¢ each, kodachromes for \$5.00 each. Would appreciate having any orders placed at least two weeks in advance.

Color Slides Cooperative, Temporary Address: Box 1133, Erie, Pa.

Sells color slides, standard size and 2" x 2", made directly from originals. Membership basis. Production and sales to be resumed soon.

Fogg Museum of Art, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

Will accept slide orders from negatives in its very extensive collection covering all fields. Price for black and white, standard size slides 60¢.

Mayer, Frances G., (Art Color Slides, Inc.), 235 East 50th Street, New York, N.Y.

Large collection of kodachrome slides in 2" x 2" size, made direct from originals at Metropolitan Museum, Art Institute of Chicago, and others. Price \$1.50 each. Discount on quantities over 75. Catalog on request.

Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 28, N.Y.

Black and white standard size slides available of nearly all objects in the Museum's collections at 60¢ per slide (discount of 10% to educational institutions on orders of 25 or more). Will make kodachromes to order. Address inquiries to Sales Desk.

Large lending collection. 126,000 black and white standard size (all fields), 3,000 kodachrome standard size (mostly painting), 2,000 kodachrome 2" x 2" size (mostly painting). Address inquiries to School Service.

Museum of Modern Art, 11 West 53rd Street, New York, N.Y.

Large negative collection of modern art, architecture, painting, sculpture, graphic arts, industrial design, photography, film, dance and theatre. Black and white, standard size slides at 60¢. Kodachrome slides, standard size, at \$1.50, kodachrome slides 2" x 2" at 75¢.

Large rental collection in both black and white and color. Catalog available to educational institutions.

Philadelphia Museum of Art, The Parkway at 26th Street, Philadelphia 30, Pa.

No standard black and white or kodachrome slides (3 1/4" x 4") for sale. Standard size black and white slides are loaned at the rate of \$1.00 for fifty or less per week and half the original cost for the second week.

Loan collection of about 20,000 2" x 2" size slides, loaned on same basis as standard size, many of which are for sale at 60¢ each for the kodachrome and stripfilms for \$2.50 a strip (thirty frames a strip) covering any subject in the history of art.

Prothman, Dr. Konrad, 7 Soper Avenue, Baldwin, N.Y.

Standard size kodachromes from color prints (but usually of good quality) at \$1.50 each. Also sets for rental. Lists on request.

Raymond & Raymond, 40 East 52nd Street, New York 22, N.Y.

Handles color slides made by Color Slides Cooperative. Catalog on request.

Rosenthal, Dr. Julius, 5231½ So. Kimbark Ave., Chicago, Ill.

Has access to negatives of University of Chicago and very extensive personal collection. Complete range of history of art. Can supply complete set of illustrations for Helen Gardner's *Art through the Ages* and Garrison's *Art in the Western World*. Price of black and white standard size (3¼" x 4") slides, from existing negatives 50¢. New slides 75¢. Lists on request.

Schoenburger, Dr. Guido, New York University Institute of Fine Arts, 17 East 80th Street, New York, N.Y.

Can make slides from negatives of N.Y.U. Institute of Fine Arts collection. Wide range, excellent quality. Price of black and white, standard size slides 55¢.

University of Iowa Photographer, Fine Arts Building Iowa City, Iowa.

Black and white, standard size, slides from the University's collection at 50¢ each.

University Prints, Newton, Mass.

Good general selection of black and white standard size slides at 50¢ each. Catalog 5¢.

CAA MICROFILM SLIDE PROJECT

The list of illustrations to be included in the Microfilm Slide Set of 4000 items is at present being drawn up and consolidated. When completed, it will include material that will provide not only a general survey of the history of painting from the Trecento to the present but also more detailed courses in painting of the Italian Renaissance, 15th Century and Renaissance painting in northern Europe and Spain, and painting of the 19th and 20th Centuries. Inquiries concerning the Microfilm Slide Set may be addressed to David M. Robb, School of Fine Arts, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia 4, Pa.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

SIR:

A comment on Agnes Addison's article, *The Legend of West's Death of Wolf* in the November COLLEGE ART JOURNAL:

The author acknowledges a "general agreement" with Charles Mitchell's article written last year but she, as well as the editorial staff, is apparently unaware that *five* years ago Dr. Oskar Hagen conclusively exposed the lack of fact in the "Legend." See *The Birth of the American Tradition*, Oskar Hagen, Charles Scribner's Sons, N.Y., 1940, pp. 113-115.

MILDRED (Mrs. G. T.) MATTHEWS
Department of History and Criticism of Art
The University of Wisconsin

Author's reply:

My thanks to Mrs. Matthews for the reference. The lack of fact in the "Legend" was conclusively shown *fifteen* years ago by J. Clarence Webster in *Wolfe and the Artists—A Study of His Portraiture*, Ryerson Press, Toronto, 1930, pp. 60-71. My only aim in the article was that of a publicist.

AGNES ADDISON

SIR:

Mr. Albert Bloch of the Department of Painting of the University of Kansas directs my attention to a mistake I made in my obituary of "Wolfflin"; Tschudi was not director of the Neue Staatsgalerie but of the Alte Pinokothek, since the first was founded only after his death. I confused the facts because the Neue Staatsgalerie contained his former private collection.

WOLFGANG BORN

BOOK REVIEWS

LAURENCE E. SCHMECKEBIER, *John Stuart Curry's Pageant of America*, 354 pp., 341 pl. (8 in color). New York, 1943, American Artists Group. \$5.00.

This volume is one of the series, published by the American Artists Group, which includes biographies of John Sloan, Louis Eilshemius, Jerome Myers, Guy Pene du Bois and Harry Wickey. The author gives us a narrative of Curry's life in eighty-three pages and follows this with descriptions of his work under six classifications, viz. folk religion, rural storms, farm life, spectacles, the artist and society, and mural decorations.

Mr. Schmeckebier tries systematically, though not always successfully, to avoid evaluative statements until the last few pages of the book when he includes a chapter entitled "A Critic's Opinion." In this he characterizes Curry as a "Factual Romanticist" and commends his painting highly, quoting Wickey at one point to the effect that Curry "fulfills Walt Whitman's hope and prophecy of a truly great native art growing out of American life." Again we find the author judging that Curry "has succeeded in identifying himself with the character and vitality of our time." And in the concluding paragraph of the book he says of the Kansas State Capitol murals that "they are without question the greatest mural achievements in America today."

From the point of view of the many artists and critics who regard Curry as a second-rate illustrator, such judgments seem nothing short of fantastic and the 341 illustrations in the book, covering as they do most of Curry's accomplishments, seem to verify the conclusion that he has seldom risen above the level of content found in *Saturday Evening Post* illustrations and lacks the polish and competence in draughtmanship required of good commercial illustrators. This would seem to be the chief service which the book performs, for by including so many illustrations between the covers of one book, each accompanied by a brief description, we are better able to estimate Curry's contribution to American art.

As a factual account of the life of the artist this book seems quite adequate and indeed too detailed for the merits of the subject. One sees Curry as a young man in the early 1920's under the tutelage of the commercial artist Harvey Dunn, and doing illustrations for the Wild West stories of Zane Grey and others, which were published serially in *Boy's Life*, *Saturday Evening Post*, etc., and doing pulp cover jackets of cowboys. Some remind one of Remington or Horatio Walker or of any number of standard magazine illustrators. It would seem that Curry never departed from these early ideals of conventional expression, although the author implies that he did after 1925 when the editors began to point out that he lacked

the proficiency and cleverness of other commercial illustrators who were his competitors. He decided to try putting his illustrations on canvas and in frames and calling them fine art and when in 1926 James Daugherty told him he must learn to draw. Curry took a trip to Paris to study the masters of the past. Judging by the illustrations in Schmeckebier's book his drawing did improve in Paris, but when he returned in 1927 he was unable to retain any of this improved quality of draughtsmanship in the structure of paintings carried out in oil. He did however succeed in capitalizing on subjects of topical interest, and in spite of his esthetic naïveté learned, with the *Baptism in Kansas* of 1928, that he could make conventional illustrations memorable by an obvious appeal to the homespun sentiments of the average American. This became his artistic credo and apparently he has never departed from it since such magazines as *Life* and *Time* and journalistic critics like Thomas Craven made this sort of thing popular with the many whose interest in art is marginal and badly informed.

The author's fourth chapter is entitled "Discovery of a Style, 1928," but it would seem from the illustrations in the book that the artist became financially successful without ever acquiring a style in the usual sense of the word. A few of the paintings are of artistic interest, for example, *Baptism in Kansas*, *The Line Storm*, *The Tornado*, *The Mississippi*, *Wisconsin Landscape*, and *Sanctuary*. But many are incredibly bad, e.g., illustrations numbered 46, 80, the sunsets and sunrises nos. 91-100; 107, 110, 122, 129, 130, 134, 146, 180, 276, 277, 286, 316, 318, 332, 334, 335. The author treats them all alike, however as objects of factual study equally worthy of a record.

Mr. Schmeckebier has performed a distinct service in gathering so much material together and thus facilitating our judgment of Mr. Curry and the ideas he represents, but we shall have to wait for someone else to evaluate these matters in terms of the evolution of contemporary American art as a whole. This is not simply because this reviewer disagrees with the author of the book, but rather because Mr. Schmeckebier has not seriously undertaken the larger task of placing Curry's work in the context of modern art. He proceeds as though there is no real problem, apparently accepting the "local scene" ideology of the artist without questioning its validity and significance or defending its argument. He has aimed to be merely factual and descriptive. That he happens to admire the artist is therefore beside the point. Had he believed Curry a negligible painter little in the book would have had to be changed, though in that case he certainly would not have bothered to write at such length on so minor a subject.

LESTER D. LONGMAN
University of Iowa

BARTLETT COWDREY AND HERMANN WARNER WILLIAMS, JR., *William Sidney Mount, 1807-1868, An American Painter*, xiii-54 p., 33 pl. New York, 1944. Columbia University Press, for the Metropolitan Museum of Art. \$5.00.

Nineteenth century American painting, so long neglected, is beginning to receive the attention it deserves. We are now far enough away from the century that preceded us to be able to evaluate fairly and justly the many moods and trends that marked its course. Exhibitions and their accompanying catalogs have done much to focus attention on groups such as the Hudson River School or on individuals—George Caleb Bingham, Eastman Johnson, David Blythe, John Quidor, and William Sidney Mount being among those who have been given special consideration. When the Brooklyn Museum opened their exhibition of the work of Mount and Quidor in 1942, they brought to light two comparatively obscure figures. At this time John I. H. Baur published a distinguished catalogue on Quidor, but refrained from saying very much about Mount as a comprehensive publication was in the process of being compiled. Mr. Baur's exhibition was well received and served to acquaint the public with two contrasting but equally significant phases of mid-nineteenth century painting.

The publication on Mount has now appeared and is a joint endeavor on the part of Bartlett Cowdrey and Hermann Warner Williams, Jr. The text runs to fifty-four pages in addition to which there are thirty-two pages of collotype reproductions. Twelve pages of the text are devoted to an account by Mr. Williams of Mount's life, together with a critical estimate of his work. The rest of the text, largely compiled by Miss Cowdrey, consists of a catalog of Mount's genre and landscape paintings; an appendix listing the imitations, incorrect attributions, and copies; another appendix with a check list of prints after Mount; and finally a bibliography. His portraits have not been included as they were considered of secondary importance (with few exceptions such as his self-portrait) and would in any case require a separate volume and a vast amount of additional research.

In his account of the artist's career, Mr. Williams has included all the established facts, many details of which were hitherto unknown, and has stated them concisely and clearly without any literary embellishments. He says quite correctly that Mount was the first genre painter in America, but establishes a misconception in remarking that he was the first "to venture upon a career largely outside the conventional and commercially profitable profession of face painter in ordinary to the American public." Landscape painting, already practiced to a considerable extent a quarter century before Mount began to paint, also constituted a career outside the profession of portraitist.

After a bad start as an historical painter, Mount reached his stride in 1830 with *The Rustic Dance*, a realistic homely scene of country folk dancing to the tunes of a Negro fiddler. This was something new in American art and immediately took the public's fancy—not, however, to the extent that collectors were willing to pay much for such scenes. Portraiture remained his principal source of income. He was influenced presumably by seventeenth-century Dutch genre painting, a few examples of which he could have seen in New York. Washington Allston, whose advice was eagerly sought by younger painters, urged him to study Jan Steen. More important than external influences was the fact that he had a great fondness for the country people who were his neighbors on Long Island and took great pleasure in depicting them in the activities common to their daily lives. He turned down offers of trips abroad in order to remain in this environment and did not even care to remain long when he visited New York. In spite of the fact that he stayed off the beaten track, his work became well known through exhibitions at the National Academy and elsewhere, and especially as a result of engravings and lithographs done from his paintings for publication in *Annals*.

Mount was a slow painter and his output was small, which is only partially explained by the fact that he made use of a most exacting technique. The real reason seems to have been that he was something of a hypochondriac, worried unnecessarily about his health, and was constitutionally lacking in initiative. His most productive period both from the point of view of quality and quantity was from the mid-1830s to the early fifties. After that he became less and less active. During his last years he was absorbed in spiritualism and claimed to have had letters and etchings by Rembrandt revealed to him by supernatural means. Since he was not above a practical joke, we may assume that the Rembrandt episode was not so much an hallucination on his part as a means of having some fun at the expense of his friends.

In appraising Mount's work, Mr. Williams points to individuality and Americanism as the two most conspicuous qualities to be found there. The individuality, he says, appears in marked contrast to the "gray-sameness" of the Hudson River landscape men—a curious choice of adjective to apply to the rich green and brown toned landscapes of Cole and Durand, the many moods of whose works are now well understood. Considering Mount's own limited color sense this is a questionable comparison. His work was free from the "studio look" as the author points out and in content was "as simple, direct, and unaffected as the personality of the artist."

Mr. Williams has adhered to the facts and has told his story with accuracy and care. He might, however, have interpreted the facts with a little more imagination. Mount does not emerge as a personality; rather he remains an archaeological specimen.

In the catalog section the most complete possible information has been compiled in a very readable way. Title, date, size, contemporary comments, and other useful bits of information are put down in an orderly and concise manner. Such a catalog is obviously the result of the most painstaking research and deserves high commendation. The four appendices contain additional information of special value and the bibliography in being arranged chronologically is far more useful than a mere alphabetical listing. Manuscript sources always sound tempting and those listed will lead, it is hoped, to further publications.

The collotype reproductions are on the whole very disappointing as the middle tones are lost. One need only compare the half-tone reproduction of *Raffling for a Goose* on the dust jacket with Figure 27, the same subject in collotype. In the latter the modeling in the faces and all light areas are completely lost. The fault would seem to lie with the printer and not with the method, as gelatine process reproductions properly handled are of the finest quality. Though the large format of the book is to be commended, in only one instance, Figure 66, *Long Island Farmhouses*, has the designer taken advantage of this to give us a full plate reproduction. In order to fit everything into a given space, size has been sacrificed to appearance. This aids documentation at the expense of good typography.

In spite of these limitations the publication is sound and well-documented and makes a very welcome addition to the study of a most interesting nineteenth century artist.

FREDERICK A. SWEET

The Art Institute of Chicago

BRUNO ADRIANI, *Problems of the Sculptor*, 99 p. New York City, 1943.
The Nierendorf Gallery. \$3.00.

This thoughtful little book on the nature of sculpture fills a long-felt want; for we have had numerous histories of sculpture and technical manuals, but few works on sculpture as an art. Mr. Adriani attacks the "impure conception of sculpture," prevalent from the time of Leonardo da Vinci to the present day, which leads to judgment of statues on the basis of pictorial values of light and shade proper only to painting. Like Michelangelo, he distinguishes the process of modelling in clay or plaster sharply from that of carving in wood or stone. To the latter, which he considers "true sculpture," he devotes major space and emphasis.

As a result, the diverse esthetic aims and technical problems of the "modeller" are slighted, particularly in the excellent chapters on "Relief" and "Sculpture in the Round," which are written from the carver's point of view. Yet in this very limitation, it seems to me, lies the force and unity of Mr. Adriani's book. Moreover, it is the point of view of the *sculptor*, in the original sense of the word, that needs to be clarified today; the more pictorially modelled statues and reliefs are more easily understood by a public exposed almost exclusively to painting.

Insisting that the medium chosen must determine the technical method and formal treatment, the author condemns the artist who, after preparing a model in plaster, turns it over to a marble-pointer for translation into stone: "the work after a plaster model is a replica"; "the artist who is accustomed to modelling in plaster can have only an intellectual relation to stone." Others have stressed the importance of medium, and pleaded for a return to the slower method of direct carving in the block; but to my knowledge no other writer has stated the case so clearly, fully, and convincingly.

Unfortunately, this book is not illustrated; but throughout the author cites examples, for the most part well-known works for which reproductions can be found readily. For the others, he refers to illustrations in his notes. Particularly valuable for teachers are his varied literary sources, drawn from many periods, quoted in text and notes. His criticism of Hildebrand's theory of relief is sound—and long overdue.

I hope that some writer will do for works in terracotta, plaster and bronze what Mr. Adriani has done for sculpture in wood and stone.

BERTHA H. WILES

University of Chicago

FRANCIS HENRY TAYLOR, *Babel's Tower, The Dilemma of the Modern Museum*, 53 p., 1 ill. New York, 1945, Columbia University Press. \$1.00.

Babel's Tower is a piquant little book. In spirited and provocative fashion Mr. Taylor discusses issues which, though not new, deserve reconsideration today, not only by those in the museum field, but by critics, historians and connoisseurs of art as well.

Although Mr. Taylor touches upon a variety of interesting subjects, e.g., the project of Paul Otelet and Le Corbusier for a universal museum, the history and growth of collectors and collections, the distinction between Italian humanism and that of the North), his argument centers round these fundamental questions: What functions should museums perform? How successfully are they performing these functions? How should we account for their failure to perform them?

Mr. Taylor hammers in the point that our American museums should, first and foremost, have a social purpose: they should deal in human values, should contribute to the general welfare, should aim to be "the midwife of democracy." More specifically, they should play a leading and vital role in the daily life of the layman. They should explain and emphasize the significance of works of art in relation to the time and place of their creation, inasmuch as these works can "teach the truths of the ages which produced them and thus develop in the individual a capacity for improvement."

Unfortunately, Mr. Taylor urges, we of the art world—museum people,

art historians, connoisseurs, archaeologists—have failed to make the museum mean something important to the general public. "The public are no longer impressed and are frankly bored with museums and their inability to render adequate service." We are thus in need of "intellectual overhauling," of "mental therapy."

Mr. Taylor finds us culpable on two main scores. First, he attacks an "estheticism" that, in its emphasis upon "form," "design" and so forth, high-hats and bewilders the layman by placing works of art in an ivory tower far removed from the environment in which they were created. Second, but at greater length and with greater zeal, he berates that type of scholarship which, through its concentration upon the relatively unimportant, loses touch with significant human values. "More and more the specialist has withdrawn into a world of his own, writing learned and pseudo-scientific dissertations addressed to a few colleagues."

This reviewer agrees that our museums should serve the important function of educating the public along humanistic lines. He agrees also that, despite large attendances, our museums largely fail in this respect. Further, he agrees that current art scholarship rates too highly a scientific approach and stresses unduly iconography, iconology and attributions. The humanistic approach to art advocated by Mr. Taylor seems both timely and wholesome.

Unfortunately Mr. Taylor greatly weakens his argument in two related ways. 1) He overstates the social function of the museum at the expense of other possible functions. Why, one asks, need a museum be thus limited in its purpose? Why is it unimportant, as Mr. Taylor suggests, to cultivate and teach an appreciation of the *quality* of works of art? Why, as he asserts, does the value to the Museum and to the public of Michelangelo's page of drawings in the Metropolitan consist in its relation to his other works and to the various aspects of Renaissance civilization? Why is not its "inestimable beauty" also of great value? By restricting his conception of art, the author partially invalidates it, since this conception apparently denies the multivalence of artistic creations.

2) He overemphasizes the guilt, if guilt it be, of "estheticism" and of "scholarship" by insisting that the points of view of the layman and the scholar must be reconciled and that museums must either become temples of humanistic learning or remain "merely hanging gardens for the perpetuation of the Babylonian pleasures of estheticism and the secret sins of private archaeology." Why, one asks again, may not the points of view of layman and scholar legitimately differ? And why may not museums at the same time promote humanistic learning and fulfill the interests of estheticism and of archaeology? Through failure to consider these possibilities, Mr. Taylor presents a dilemma which, to one reader at least, is a false one. For he offers no compelling reasons for placing

the major responsibility upon the aesthete and the scholar for the failure of our museums to meet a democratic need. More cogent reasons for this failure must lie elsewhere.

BERNARD C. HEYL
Wellesley College

Annuaire Général des Ventes Publique en France: Commentaires d'André Fage; en Supplément les Ventes en Belgique. 2^e année, 1942-3. Paris, (1944?). Editions Art et Technique, 2 vols. 125 francs.

Some years ago, in the course of some research, I went through the enormous collection of sales catalogues in the Frick Library dating from the XVII century to the present time. Aside from my special problem of the moment several general observations came out of this work. One was that during wars or periods of crises few great auction sales of works of art occurred in Europe, although these few might by chance be of great importance. Another was that the great art sales were apt to take place several years after the war or crises, usually about three years, when they would be both important as to the number of sales and as to the quality of many of them. The reason for this is one for economists to explain. The perusal of this catalogue under review seems to demonstrate that the first conclusion has been born out by the conditions prevailing during the occupation in France. Whether the second generalization will also be true now that the war and the German occupation have come to an end remains to be seen. Except for a few pieces of furniture which I saw at the Louvre my comments are based upon the two volumes being reviewed and not first hand knowledge of the collections auctioned.

There were nine hundred and sixty-eight auctions held in France during the winter of 1942-43 which included sales of paintings, antique furniture, graphic arts, jewelry and stamps. The names of over three thousand one hundred painters are listed while only sixty-five names of sculptors appear. However, there is a far larger proportion of well-known names among those of sculptors than of painters. The 1942-43 season in Paris will be known in auction rooms as the year of the Viau sale. This collection contained the élite of modern painting, famous for its Corots, Delacroixs, Pissarro, Sisleys, Renoirs and Degas. The French economy was in a very bad way at the time and the gold dollar brought 1300 francs in the black market (last year it hovered mostly between only 500 and 800 francs!). The first Viau sale brought over fifty-three million francs. The stock market was high and people were buying works of art of quality at no matter what prices. Fage gives a number of prices with comparison figures from earlier sales which seem interesting enough to quote.

"Quelques comparaisons donneront une idée des plus-values étourdissantes qui furent atteintes: *Danseuse saluant*, 44x23, de Degas, 5.000 à la

deuxième vente Degas, en 1918, 346.150; *Portraits de Napoleon III, de Canrobert, Neil, Bazaine, Mac-Mahon*, dessin au crayon noir, 31x20 de Degas (sur une seule feuille), 460 à la quatrième vente Degas en 1919, 55.200; *Jeune fille jouant de la trompette*, étude à la mine de plomb 43x28, double face, de Degas, 800 à la vente J. Fèvre, le 12 juin 1934, 80.500; *Danseuse à contre-jour*, fusain 49x31, de Degas, 4.200 à la deuxième vente Degas en 1918, 517.500; *Danseuse sur la scène*, dessin au crayon noir rehaussé de pastel 30x24, de Degas, 2.000 à la vente J. Fèvre, en juin 1934, 288.650; *Femme à sa coiffure*, pastel 80x57, par Degas, 20.000 à la première vente Degas en 1918, 1.725.000; *La coiffure après le bain*, pastel 69x58 par Degas, 19.000 à la première vente Degas en 1918, 1.495.000; *Après le bain, femme s'essuyant*, pastel 105x99 de Degas, 31.000 à la deuxième vente Degas en 1918, 2.654.500; *Portrait de M. de Valerne*, toile 59x46 par Degas, 16.000 à la première vente Degas, en 1918, 1.610.000. Soit une moyenne de 10.000 pour 100 de plus-values, sur des écarts variant de 23 à 8 ans. . ."

Degas seems to have come off by far the best. The forty-three drawings pastels and paintings fetched twenty-eight million francs, the Louvre paying over two million for two pastels. The honours went to the Impressionists in general. The Cézannists, Neo-Impressionists, Cubists, Fauvists and Sur-realists seemed almost forgotten in the rush for the earlier nineteenth century masters. Fage explains this in part as follows:

"L'Amérique à laquelle le marché parisien tend une oreille trop attentive, car elle est l'inconstance même et n'a d'autre conviction que celle de ses marchands, les avait elles-même presque abandonnés, après avoir délaissé à leur profit l'Ecole de 1830." (1) Pissarro and Sisley went high at the Viau sale although Monet seemed less in favour. Of the more recent painters whose prices have risen Fage lists the following: Maurice Denis, Albert Marquet, Pierre Bonnard, Edouard Vuillard, Maurice Vlaminck and André Dunoyer de Segonzac, while the following were less popular judging from the lower prices paid for their work—Eugène Boudin, Othon Friesz, Marie Laurencin, Jules Pasçin and Chaim Soutine.

There were few ancient paintings and these were seldom of any importance. A new luxury tax of 15% had been added to the 10% tax already in existence. Only three paintings brought over five hundred thousand francs—a F. Guardi, a Gering and a portrait attributed to Cranach. The 820,000 francs paid for the Cranach would seem high, judging from the photograph, if the franc is figured at two cents, but not too elevated considering the situation of France with the Germans in occupation if the franc is figured at a half a cent.

Among the sculptures sold, a Rodin bronze *Eternal Printemps* was bid up to 580,000 francs while a statue of *Diana as Nymph* made by Simon Mazière for the gardens at Marly brought nearly four hundred thousand with the tax. Carpeaux, Clodion and good medieval sculpture continued at fair prices as might well be expected.

The sale of the Dubois-Chefdebien Collection the year before when pieces of XVIII century French furniture brought from 140,000 to 360,000 francs caused the salesrooms to be flooded with fine French furniture, more than had been seen in years, the effect of this having reached as far as New York, being seen in the high prices paid for the French furniture in the sale of Mrs. Henry Walters. Fage explains this by a rising interest in fine French furniture of the XVIII century and points out that it has a permanent value. I believe another cause had a considerable effect. In the course of my work last year at SHAEF I had occasion to examine the files of an international shipping firm in Paris. These files were filled with lists of French furniture (together with the export permits) sent by carloads into Germany and Poland to furnish the offices of the various ministries in Berlin and Nazi headquarters at such places as Cracow and Warsaw. Also the Town Hall in Cologne was refurnished with French XVIII century bought in Paris after the building had been destroyed by Allied bombing. Fage writes that about 500 pieces of furniture were sold each day at the Hotel Drouot (not all of it was antique, naturally) which would make 1,000,000 pieces for the season. This would be in part explained also by the difficulty in buying new furniture—I recall last winter paying in Versailles three dollars for a pair of mismatched champagne glasses, all that could be gotten in lieu of drinking glasses! But the prices paid for the antique French furniture would on the other hand in part be explained by the German buying. A Regency table-secretary which the expert explained would cost 150,000 francs to repair, brought 1,575,000 francs because it was rumored that the Versailles treaty had been signed on it.

These pages tell us little or nothing otherwise about the effect of the German occupation upon the art world in France, unless the modest prices paid for the two Rembrandts (catalogued by Bode) at the Jaffé sale at Nice were due to some of the difficulties experienced by the auctioneers in holding that sale, which included paintings reputed to have been bequeathed to the National Gallery in London by the owner. For the rest, the antique works of art, sculpture, paintings, and objets d'art except for the XVIII century seemed to have figured very little and one may safely assume that the French, as before, have carefully withheld them against the coming of a better day. It will be interesting to see whether the conclusion drawn from examining previous sales and mentioned in the first paragraph will again prove true, that is, whether we will have a series of auctions of fine antique works of art in Paris again in the year 1948.

MARVIN C. ROSS

The Walters Art Gallery

BOOKS RECEIVED

Artists on Art, From the XIV to the XX Century, Robert Goldwater and Marco Treves, eds., xv + 498 p., 104 ill. (mostly portraits). New York 1945, Pantheon Books. \$4.50.

Cultural Education Under the Carnegie Grants For the Advance of Art & Music in the Public Schools, 1939-45, by Department of Education, Baltimore, Md., 46 p., 16 ill. Baltimore, 1944, Department of Education (3 East 25th St.). Gratis.

The Decorated Barns of Eastern Pennsylvania, by John Joseph Stout, 14 p., 16 pl. (2 in color). Plymouth Meeting, Pa., 1945, Mrs. C. Naaman Keyser. \$1.00.

Drawing Children, by Victor Perard, 52 p., of drawings with accompanying directions. New York, 1945, Pitman. \$1.00.

Home Craft Course in Pennsylvania German Illuminated Manuscripts, by M. Louise Edye, 7 p., 16 pl. (2 in color). Plymouth Meeting, Pa., 1945, Mrs. C. Naaman Keyser. \$1.00.

Manierismus in Mittelalterlicher Kunst, by Werner Weisbach, 40 p., 32 pl. Basel, 1942, Birkhäuser. 16 fr. (Swiss).

Michelangelo—The Sistine Ceiling, by Charles de Tolnay, xii + 285 p., 163, pl. Princeton, 1945, Princeton University Press. \$17.50.

Painting & Sculpture in the Museum of Modern Art—Supplementary List July 1942-April 1945, J. J. Sweeney, ed., 16 pp., 33 ill. New York, 1945, The Museum. 25¢.

Paintings in the Cleveland Museum of Art [Picture Book No. 1], by Cleveland Museum of Art, 56 p., 7 ill. (3 in color). Cleveland, 1945, The Museum. \$1.00.

Preface to an American Philosophy of Art, by A. Philip McMahon, vi + 194 p. Chicago, 1945, University of Chicago Press. \$2.50.

Religiöse Reform und Mittelalterliche Kunst, by Werner Weisbach, x + 230 p., 33 pl., Einsiedln and Zurich, 1945, Benziger. 16.80 fr. (Swiss).

Roger de la Fresnaye, by Germain Seligman, ix + 52 p., 21 pl. New York, 1945, Curt Valentin. \$6.00.

Seven Painters—An Introduction to Pictures [Living Names], by A. C. Ward, 82 p., 7 color pl. London & New York, 1945, Oxford University Press. \$1.25.

Stuart Davis, by James Johnson Sweeney, 40 p., 31 ill. (3 in color). New York, 1945, The Museum of Modern Art. \$2.50.

Yankee Stone-Cutters—The First American School of Sculpture, 1800-1850, by Albert TenEyck Gardner, 80 p., 13 pl. New York, 1945, Columbia University Press, for the Metropolitan Museum of Art. \$4.00.

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